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The Public Broadcasting Service

It's Not the Letter of the Law Which is Important, but Rather its Spirit

Constantin PARTAC

Whatever they say, ideological propaganda is the communists' ace. Nobody is better at double-faced declarations; that is, they say what ought to be said and then act according to their party interests.

Do you want to be closer to NATO? Want European integration? Want the withdrawal of the Russian army from Moldova? Want a public broadcaster? No problem! We have nothing against it.

In 1995, several hours before the vote on the second reading of the Broadcasting Law, an amendment was made by which the State Company Teleradio Moldova was suddenly declared a public institution. Thus, the agrarian communists fulfilled one of the European Radio and Television Union requirements for its new members from Central and Eastern Europe concerning the reorganization of state institutions into public ones.

It is true that in 1995 there were very few people in Chisinau who understood the meaning of a public institution and its principles of operation. At present there are many more of them, but still not enough to guard against the tricks of the authorities. In the spring of 2002, when the protesters and the TVM striking committee took a categorical stance regarding the need to transform Teleradio Moldova Company into a public institution, the first reaction of the authorities was the following: Want a public institution? No problem! We are not going to prevent it.

An "initiative committee" was created to tackle this issue, but fortunately professionals became involved and the trick failed.

If we analyze the Law on the National Broadcasting Institution Teleradio Moldova (see *Monitorul Oficial* of 08.15.2002), we can see that this looks more like a declaration, regulation or instruction and not a law.

They say that in a law it is not the letter of the law that is important but rather its spirit. And the spirit of this law is not democratic; the new status of the institution is a declared rather than guaranteed one.

Article 13 of the law refers to a supervisory body, whose mission is to protect the institution from interference by state authorities and protect the public interest. According to the law, the Supervisory Council is formed of 15 members, appointed in equal numbers by the president, parliament and government. In Moldova (a parliamentary republic) these three authorities are represented by the same party—there goes the Council's independence. The provision by which the Council members receive no compensation for their membership is also not rational. It takes time and considerable effort

to monitor the broadcasts, look into petitions and develop resolutions. Can these tasks be fulfilled simply by enthusiasm? Certainly not. This provision has created just a formal body, as is the custom of the authorities. Guarantees are not even worth mentioning.

Contrary to the recommendations of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers concerning the establishment of an independent public broadcaster (NRR (96)10), adopted on 11 September 1996, the Law ignores the principle of transparency and the participation of the civil society in the company's management. Regarding the supervisory body, the recommendation provides for the following:

- to avoid political or other interference in its activity;
- to be appointed in a transparent and pluralist manner;
- to represent the interests of society at large;
- not to receive instructions from others and its members not to be revoked arbitrarily; etc.

These requirements were respected in another draft law on the national public broadcaster, which was developed by a team of broadcasting professionals, created and coordinated by the Association of Electronic Press (APEL). The draft provided for a competitive appointment of supervisory body members, 5 by each: state authorities, professional unions, and nongovernmental organizations. The members of the administrative council were to be salaried, protected by law and have clearly stated jurisdictions.

This project was supported by the Council of Europe experts and recommended for adoption, but the communist faction rejected the draft after approving it in the first reading.

A disregard for basic principles can be seen in the provisions of the Broadcasting Law concerning the interaction of state institutions with the public broadcaster in the area of programming.

The Council of Europe recommendation states: "The cases when public service broadcasters may be forced to broadcast official messages, declarations or releases, or give broadcasting time to them, should be limited to exceptional circumstances and provided for expressly by law or other regulation." These requirements were taken into account by the alternative draft law. Article 9 obliged the broadcaster to put on air for free and under terms of priority official releases, declarations and/or messages from the parliament, president and/or government of Moldova under the following circumstances:

- a) natural disasters;
- b) states of emergency;
- c) national catastrophes;
- d) other exceptional circumstances.

But the adopted law states that any information coming from the government, president or parliament represents an "official release" and must have broadcast priority. Thus, according to the Broadcasting Law: "The Company shall give to public authorities, upon request, air time for a timely broadcasting of official releases of public interest" (art. 6 para. 1). No more, no less! This provision can be used by the authorities as a screen to advertise themselves and come before the beloved nation on a daily basis.

A more serious problem of the Law on the National Broadcaster Teleradio Moldova is that it ignores the civil society. The civil society is not involved in the supervisory body, in controlling the fulfillment by the Company of the main principles, nor in developing the programming policy. Unlike the Law which was adopted, the APEL draft awarded a special importance to the role and authority of the civil society, which went even further than similar laws in countries with some experience in this area. In order to protect society's interests in the activity of the public broadcaster, it was decided to create the position of a Public Service Advocate, whose status is defined in a separate chapter.

The Advocate was to carry out inquiries about the fulfillment of the obligations of the public service, look into petitions and suggestions concerning the programming of the public broadcaster, discussed differences between the management and the staff of the broadcaster, etc. (see chapter IV, art. art. 31-33).

Karol Jakubowicz, Council of Europe expert, who evaluated the draft laws developed in Moldova, said during a meeting in Budapest (15-17 February 2002): "In order to enhance their chances, they [public broadcasters] must-showing dedication to their mission-win the respect, trust and affection of the civil society. If this should be so, they would be able to mobilize it for their support and defense when this becomes necessary. ... Public broadcasters should be the soul of the civil society. Each time when public broadcasters invite to their news and analytical programs only politicians and no representatives of the civil society, they undermine themselves by not offering the microphone to the civil society and fail in their opposition to politicians and their attempt to prove their independence from them, and thus the public broadcasting service fails to win the support and commitment of the civil society."

This is also the case in Moldova, where programming of the National TV channel is frequently criticized by the public, with or without justification and at any time, for not defending their interests.

One of the fundamental principles of the public

service is sufficient, guaranteed funding by the entire society. In this respect, the Law of 26 July 2002 offers no solution and its art. 19 provides for funding mainly from the state budget. We are not against state budget funding – it's an easy source of money. But the question is: Will the parliament and government take into account the real needs of service to the public or will they finance the company "according to existing possibilities," as they have in recent years? For months on end TVM used to broadcast 4-5 hours per day (18.00-23.00), which was inadmissible for a public service broadcaster. We were embarrassed to acknowledge in front of foreign delegations coming to Chisinau that the main TV station starts broadcasting at 6 p.m. or to discuss the issue of staff salaries. Salaries at the public TV should be comparable to those in private institutions in order to attract the best professionals and avoid corruption. It is known that at TVM any public figure can easily buy "shoots," "subjects," "news", and the programming becomes replete with hidden advertising.

The Council of Europe recommends to countries to maintain and, if necessary, establish a secure funding arrangement, which should be adequate and transparent which should guarantee broadcasters the needed funds for achieving their mission.

If the funding comes from the state budget, the public broadcaster should be asked about the amount of compensation. Since the Teleradio Moldova Company includes both the national radio and TV stations, the fair distribution of resources between these two organizations should be established by law. Concerning funding, the alternative draft law was clearly superior to the draft adopted by the parliament. The former provided that, "The Parliament shall adopt decisions and undertake actions to guarantee a secure and adequate funding for the institution's needs" (art. 34 para. 2). The draft set the areas for which funding had to come from the state budget and the areas to be funded indirectly (by special taxes). It also provided for transparency in using the institution's financial resources. And in order to avoid the reduction of broadcasting time a secure instrument was introduced, which was called "The Institution's Tasks and Missions Book" (Chapter VI).

The Book, which would be part of the broadcasting license, would help harmonize the interests of the state, society and the institution. It set the list of radio/TV channels, had a description of networks, the total number of hours of broadcasting, and also, for certain categories of viewers, projects for renovation and technical overhaul, etc. The project also included a minimal salary for employees.

The transition, which seems never to end, has shown to us that any normative act in Moldova must include guarantees and an effective implementation control mechanism. For otherwise the temptation not to implement it is too big.

The value and advantages of the APEL draft laws were that they couldn't be implemented and thus would neutralize the ruses that authorities might be tempted to use.

Any law, however good, does not guarantee an instant transition from a state to a public broadcaster. In order for this project to be implemented – which is very important for Moldova – considerable efforts are needed both from the authorities, the management of the public institution, as well as from the civil society.

Why does the public broadcasting service, transplanted from Western Europe, have such difficulty in catching on in Central and Eastern Europe, asked Karol Jakubowicz? One answer could be that when public institutions were created many employees didn't share the values and principles of a public service, including the political balance, impartiality and the

concern for the public interest. Moreover, they seemed to be motivated (in Moldova too) by their own political beliefs and by a feeling of obligation to win the public's support for the political party that represents their interests or just out of a desire to struggle for survival and security in an uncertain and unstable situation. Here is a quote: "If it is true that no employee or very few of them share the values of a public service, then public broadcasting bodies can be described as empty shells created to work according to public broadcasting principles but unable to do it." In my opinion, in Moldova there are too many people involved in creating laws and too few in training the staff of a future public institution. I am concerned that a day might come when we will have good laws, and political will, but we won't know what to do with them. ■

The TV Strike: Euphoria and Reality

Angela ARAMA

On 26 February 2002 an event took place at the State Company Teleradio Moldova: it broke not only the silence (a mainly apparent one, since there had been sporadic protests before) of the employees considered perfectly docile, but also the traditional opinion about them, which had been developed for many years. The massive protests against censorship drew the attention of fellow journalists from across the country but also from abroad, of civil society, political parties and, not least, international organizations. Although in art. 7 of the Broadcasting Law No. 603-XIII the State Company Teleradio Moldova is defined as a public company, its status has never been public and the company has been far from displaying any professional standards. Thus, the public broadcaster has always been subservient to the authorities, putting on air anemic programs and biased news. This became even more serious after the communists regained power, as they started to exercise unprecedented pressure on all state media. The antidemocratic swerve which put the company's journalists under continuous stress, the impossibility to work by ethical standards, the direct interference by authorities in news editing, the rallies in the main square of Chisinau—this was the background against which over 380 employees of the company started a strike. On 26 February 2002 the Employees' Protest Declaration was made public, and in the same evening the main newscast *Mesager* didn't go on air. The Striking Committee was elected on the following day, and later, as a reaction to the authorities' opacity and unconstructive attitude to the protesters' claims, the Committee of Press Solidarity was created. Shortly afterwards, a file with evidence of gross censorship,

entitled "Citizens vs. the State Republic of Moldova" was sent to the European Court for Human Rights (ECHR), which examined it as a matter of urgency. The protest of the company's employees was widely supported, including support by the International Journalism Federation, the Vienna International Press Institute, SEEMO (South East Europe Media Organization).

To be sure, this impressive support on the one hand, and the weak response, lacking in strategic intelligence showed by the authorities on the other hand (although special forces and armored vehicles were put inside the TV company), imbued the protesters with a state of euphoria, which lasted for the first ten days of the protests. However, this was not a show of unjustified optimism, but rather a sort of solidarity, recovery of faith, and spiritual purification under circumstances of imposed demoralization. This state, which was conscious every second (for otherwise it would have been a pathological state), generated also unsuspected powers with which to overcome the ego, to find solidarity among the strikers (the Striking Committee didn't accept the concession of self-dissolution proposed by the current management of the company).

The first attempt of the authorities to establish contact with the strikers was the hastened visit to the TV station by the country's President Vladimir Voronin on February 27. The head of the country rejected the accusations of interference into the editorial policy of the company and tried to shift the emphasis onto the material situation of the strikers and the "unmeasurable"

efforts undertaken by the current government to alleviate poverty. This symptomatic attitude of those in power and their claims were reiterated throughout the entire process of so-called attempts to solve the problem. The company management, as well as the Broadcasting Coordinating Council (BCC) thought the protests were unfounded. The meetings of the Conciliation Committee, made up of representatives of the administration, the striking committee and the trade union did nothing but procrastinate the fulfillment of the claims simply because the administration and the unions didn't have decision-making powers. In order to reduce the intensity of the protests, first intimidation was used, by simply having the head of state present there; then procrastination (by involving the strikers in endless negotiations and BCC inspections, and by setting up a parliamentary commission to develop a "concept for the company's improvement"); then a discrediting campaign against protesters, which was started by an anti-strike "initiative group" (even drivers and technical personnel had to be involved in it); and, finally, blackmail. The members of the Striking Committee were summoned (some of them several times) to investigation bodies, while Larisa Manole, Dinu Rusnac, and Ana Bradu-Josanu were taken off air forcefully. At the same time, a Media Association of Moldova, probably created ad hoc, volunteered to give Council of Europe experts the necessary support in forming an "objective" opinion on the events at the State Company Teleradio Moldova. The Association was composed of editors-in-chief of official newspapers and Russian-language radio stations. In the second half of March the machinery for repressing the protests (by more or less KGB methods) was working at full capacity.

Much later Ms. Durreux, Council of Europe co-reporter for Moldova, said that she was impressed by the maturity and legal correctness of the strike. Despite the position of the authorities, the protests at the Teleradio Moldova Company ended in a victory which is hard to underestimate. In its resolution of 24 April 2002 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) recommended that the Company be transformed into a public institution. But the reaction of the government was somewhat strange. On May 2 the Parliamentary Commission informed the Striking Committee about a "concept to improve the activity" of the Company. The concept was developed by a committee, whose membership the protesters didn't recognize as valid from the very beginning; moreover, the said committee developed the concept without asking the opinion of the protesters. The strikers' plea to add to the committee independent media personalities and two lawyers was ignored. The final concept was nothing else but a new attempt to preserve a company obedient to the authorities.

After heated debates in society concerning the Public Broadcasting Law drafts, the parliament passed President Voronin's draft (during the last session before vacation, and on the last day of the deadline set by PACE), pushing aside the draft submitted by the Association of Electronic Press (APEL). Harsh criticism was addressed at the President's draft for its anti-democratic character, especially for its article 13 which provided for a Supervisory Council made up of representatives of the president, government and parliament (five each). Unfortunately, at that time both the civil society as well as opposition parties withdrew from the heat of debates, and the strikers found themselves unable to influence the situation and prevent the adoption of that law. What they could do, however, was to inform the CoE reporters for Moldova on the quality of the Public Broadcasting Law and the situation at the company. The truth is that the national radio and TV continue to the present day to misinform and manipulate the population. In a letter addressed to Walter Schwimmer the Striking Committee wrote: "The fact that the opposition appears on the national TV more frequently than before is just a bluff. The president of the Company interferes in editorial decisions. Shameless speculations are made on account of the young people employed recently at the News Department under the spurious attempt to give the television a new life. But we all know that young people are easily manipulated. None of them were permitted to utter a word of criticism of the authorities, and critical stories produced by the older staff are not tolerated either." All this can be complemented by the irascibility that the administration shows each time a story idea comes up, in which there is mention (even a faint one) of Romania, or deportations and crimes committed by the Soviet regime. There is no investigative journalism, which affects seriously the image of newscasts. "To depoliticize programming" is the official slogan of the Company's administration, as they believe that the people are tired of thinking and they need just entertainment.

All this confirms the assumption that the current government will try to find new stratagems and will use any means to prevent the transformation of the Company into a truly public one. The stakes are too high. But the civil society ought to also understand this fully. Since the national radio and TV are the only stations broadcast nationally, they influence the public opinion very strongly. Hence, the stations' true transformation into public ones ought to become the priority of all organizations supporting democracy and the European orientation of our country. Also, a real solidarity among journalists is needed, since the relation between the power and the media is critical, and the freedom of expression in Moldova is endangered. ■

Business Journalism

Nothing Is Impossible

Vlad BERCU

“What area would you like to choose?” is the question I ask each time an intern or graduate wants to come to the BASA Press agency to work in the Economy and Business department, and almost always I receive the same answer: “Art, politics, crime.”

Most of them would write about anything but the economy, finance and business.

“Why?” I ask them. Some say they don’t have the knowledge, others say it’s more difficult to write a story or news item about developments in the economy than an essay on cinematography. One person answered point-blank: “I don’t understand why I should be writing about numbers. It’s boring. Nothing interesting.”

Is the difference so big between a story on arts, for instance, and one on the economy? Is there a difference between these two areas other than that in one you have to use numbers and in the other symbols and metaphors? Is it really so difficult to write about something that influences you every minute and every hour of your life—the economy? These are false statements. The person writing about arts, as well as the one whose object of research is business, must conduct the same amount of research and find out information about the subject before asking for an interview.

There can’t be different criteria when we speak about a professional approach to a subject, whether in the arts or the economy. And the question that some people ask themselves when they choose their area stems from the way in which they understand and practice the profession. A quality article about the concert given by an important artist requires the same degree of commitment as a story about the merger of two companies. “One can’t speak about quality or popular journalism, commentary or scandal. Nor about commercial or specialized journalism, institutional or anti-institutional. There is just good and bad journalism,” says David Randall in his book *The Universal Journalist*.

There is a difference nevertheless between those writing about the economy and those committed to social reporting. The former use numbers, data, trade jargon, notions that many of us don’t understand, while the language of the latter has a stronger link to reality and is more familiar to each of us. A business journalist should have basic knowledge in economics, finance and business. This is the first rule of business journalism.

So what? This is the question that has to be answered in the first place by a journalist writing about the merger of two companies or the devaluation of the leu as related to

the dollar, about the privatization of the energy system or about interest rates on bank deposits.

The reader who picks up a newspaper and reads a story expects to learn about the driving force of an event, and its consequences. And why this is happening.

At the beginning of July the media in Chisinau wrote that the International Financial Evaluation Agency Fitch Ratings downgraded Moldova’s long-term currency rating from CC to DD; i.e., the future of the rating was negative. Fitch changed the rating after Chisinau failed to cover the payments associated with issuing bonds worth 75 million USD on international markets. Newspapers also wrote that until an agreement on the restructuring of Eurobonds would be signed, the Republic of Moldova would be in official default.

So what, many of those who read the news asked themselves? How does it affect me? What’s happening to us? Nobody wrote about these issues as if this was a usual thing, which happens every day. But it’s not like that. The media in Chisinau competed with each other in writing stories and commentaries on the event, but the journalists asked themselves questions like, “Will the government fall?” Many of those who read such stories were less interested in a change of government; they wanted to know what would happen to the national currency, bank deposits, that is, what the economic, financial and social effects would be.

To my big surprise the Zece Plus Club asked me to write for their publication about the economic and social impact of the default.

So what? This was the question asked by many when in mid-October the agreement on Eurobonds restructuring was signed in Washington. The Minister of Finances declared that this was “a successful operation.” This was because Moldova managed to achieve the restructuring without turning to a financial consultant, which would mean a fee of 1.4 million USD. Almost nobody asked the question “so what?” as if this was not at all about restructuring 20 percent of the debt that Moldova had to pay back in 2002.

A journalist writing about the economy should have the necessary knowledge to answer this question. It is not a problem to answer all the other indispensable questions in a newspaper story or agency news item: what? where? when? If, of course, you were at the event and researched well enough to keep other

eventual questions down to a minimum. One can find answers to such questions by asking an expert, for instance. But an answer to the questions “so what?” and “why?”, which a journalist has to ask each time he is about to write a story, can be provided only by a journalist with at least some training.

Hence probably the fear of young journalists to write about the economy. But this is not the only reason.

In the last three or four years a number of NGOs in Chisinau have carried out projects on business journalism. The Independent Journalism Center has been especially active in this. Many of the youth who participated in the Business Reporting program, which included internships in USA and Poland, have become today known business reporters. A true school for the journalists writing on agriculture is the project Agricultural Reform, which includes an internship for State University and Agricultural University students. I am sure that some of them will become true professionals.

Besides, several years ago the course Business Reporting was introduced at the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the State University.

The world is changing. For the better. Something is changing also in what we call business journalism—our attitude to this profession—although I think one course is too little for a whole faculty producing story and news writers and offering too few courses on the economy in general.

Why then does the editor of a business newspaper have too little room to maneuver regarding personnel management.

Trying to explain to myself what is really happening to this “business journalism,” which some believe is absent from the Romanian-language press in Chisinau, I have reached a conclusion—which may not be true—that what’s happening in this area is the result of the absence of serious business publications. We don’t have journalists who could write professionally about a business or transaction because we don’t have a newspaper or a business publication because we don’t have the journalists.

Political parties have realized a long time ago that without a newspaper, which is to be their mouthpiece, they have no chances. Or fewer chances. Business people who always complain of having problems, that taxes are high, that the state doesn’t treat entrepreneurs fairly, that public officials are corrupt and extort bribes, don’t try to invest into a publication that would protect their interests.

A person reproached me a year ago that journalists in Chisinau didn’t want to set up a business paper and that they had an outdated mentality, expecting things to happen by themselves. Back then I thought that person was right and we were like that indeed. In 2002 I had the chance to see that things weren’t exactly so. I wrote

elsewhere that at the beginning of 2002 a Chisinau business person invited a group of journalists and proposed to them to set up a business newspaper.

What kind of paper did he have in mind and would the journalists’ concept be accepted? This was the first question. Others followed: For how long will there be publication money? Will the paper cover also politics, as many others do, or will it be a purely business publication? The answers were evasive. And in the course of discussion the journalists learned that the businessman wanted a Russian-model paper (which is not bad at all if we look at the level of business papers in Russia), and he also wanted the publication to become profitable after six months, mostly from advertising revenues (which is almost impossible in Moldova, unless you have your own publishing house). After one or two months of discussions they gave up the idea of publishing a Romanian-language paper, since—as the said businessman stated—on the Moldovan market a Russian-language business publication stood more chances. Then the idea appeared to research the local business media in order to estimate their market segment (where we should have started, in fact). In the end, the idea was abandoned.

Later on we started other discussions concerning the publication of a business paper. The discussions are still continuing, and when I presented the concept and editorial strategy I was told: “This is too good an idea to be realizable.” But I also hope that the financial strategy is as good and acceptable.

That’s the way things stand. The business press, especially the Romanian-language one, is the weakest element in the printed-press landscape of Moldova. One can speak only with certain reservations about business publications as an organic element of our society. Business journalism is in a transition that is running much behind the economic processes, which more or less correspond to the principles of a free economy.

In Chisinau there are a number of “centers of gravitation” if we are to speak about the Russian-language business press: *Logos press* first of all, *Profit*, *Infomarket* and others, all with good teams of business journalists. We couldn’t say the same is true about the Romanian-language press, which is limited to only two or three examples. The first one is the Economy and Business department of the BASA Press agency, which has as many as five business journalists, who in the last two years have also been producing the *Observatorul economic* magazine. Another team, although a smaller one, is that from *Jurnalul de Chisinau* weekly, which set for itself a task almost impossible for Moldova—a country in which sensationalism and criticism of the authorities are the order of the day—to write about success stories. It would be a pity if their section “*Succesul tau*” (Your success) wasn’t transformed (with support from the business community) into a separate

magazine, which we do need. Besides these, there are "lone" business journalists, most of whom are of a true value, at the National Radio, PRO TV station, newspapers *Flux*, *Saptamina*, *Tara* and others.

Nevertheless, I am optimistic.

At the beginning of November in a live radio show I was asked: don't your think that our educational institutions train too many professionals who then can't find work? "I don't think so, since very soon, when the economy starts picking up, we will need them," I answered. I also said that my wish was that more

economists were trained, some of whom could work in the press and produce truly professional, knowledgeable journalism.

I think this is the way it is going to happen. Too bad we have to wait several more long years.

But... When we tried to choose a slogan for the prize awarded by the Association of Business Journalists, we chose "Nothing is impossible." I think this refers also to business journalism, which we wish were different than it is today. ■

The Newspaper as Business

A Profitable Business: The Russian-Language Newspapers

Val BUTNARU

Do you really think it's that difficult to find a black cat in a dark room, especially if the cat isn't there? No, it's not impossible at all, or at least this mission doesn't seem as difficult as another one—trying to find information on the financial turnover of advertising on the media market of Chisinau.

As there are no specialized statistics and surveys, we can only make assumptions. And if we were to venture even into an approximate calculation, we would find that neither computers nor other machinery can be of much help here; the deathless abacus will suffice to perform the grand operation of calculating the most important source of income of the capital's newspapers.

So, I am going to speak about the printed press, since things become even more uncertain when one tries to understand the situation at TV stations. The only figure I ever heard was one issued some two years ago by the PRO TV Chisinau director Catalin Giosan, who said that the TV advertising market could reach one million US dollars per year. That's all.

The numbers in the printed press are not much smaller, but the situation turns really dramatic when only four Russian-language newspapers have laid their hands on all the advertising moneys. Do you think this is explained by amazing feats of management or fantastic circulations? Wrong! Romanian-language newspapers that have triple the circulation don't take in even a tenth of the money that goes to Russian-language publications with humble circulations. This is the splendor and misery of our national press!

But let's take things one by one. When we speak

about the advertising market we can't overlook the phenomenon called *Makler*, which is a product that has nothing to do with the press but which has taken over the largest slice of the advertising pie. Being published three times a week with circulations varying between 15 and 50 thousand copies, *Makler* takes in about 600,000 lei a month (some 6-7 million per year). No other newspaper can dream of such a performance. In fact, the existence of this publication unbalances the whole situation, since the consumer is convinced that advertising and classifieds must be published only in *Makler*. Attempts to compete with this mastodon have failed. A number of newspapers (Russian too) went under after a short period of existence (*Gorod*, *Iarmarka*), while others, despite spectacular investments, try desperately to survive (*Stil-info*). What didn't take root in Bucharest, for instance, where publications consisting only of advertising disappeared one after another, has become permanent in Chisinau. The reader in Bucharest knows that the bigger dailies have a solid section of classifieds, which seems natural to him, while the reader in Chisinau thinks that newspapers are one thing and advertising is a totally different thing. One ought also to add that "serious" advertisers (foreign companies, for instance), don't use *Makler* but prefer "classical" newspapers. On the other hand, *Makler* is the only Russian-language paper that accepts classifieds at a rate of 2 lei/word. Other Russian publications, greedy for big money, don't bend as far down and prefer to skim fat placements from Chisinau advertising agencies. The only newspapers which publish classifieds for free are *Timpul* and *Jurnal de*

Chisinau, and the latter has set recently (only for those who want) a symbolic fee of 1 leu per ad.

Another top publication is *Ekonomicheskoe obozrenie* (EO), a business newspaper read by business people. Taking advantage of the fact that the majority of business people are Russians, EO has managed to assert itself in this segment and attracts a good part of the ads. The attempts by the Romanian-language press to compete with EO have failed pitifully, of course. As there are too few readers of Romanian among business people, the revenues were less than modest. With a weekly circulation of 8-9 thousand and 32 pages per copy, with a supplement "*Dokumenty*," and an advertising rate of 5.4 lei/sq.cm, EO enjoys the support of rich clients (banks, expensive-car, and imported-home-equipment dealers). If we were to calculate the space covered by advertising, we could estimate that the revenues which this newspaper takes in are about 239,000 lei per month or 2,870,000 lei per year.

The third place goes to the *Office* weekly, 16 pages A3, circulation 8,000, with a nominal distribution only to company managers and business people. At a rate of 4.5 lei/sq.cm *Office* manages to rake in 121,000 lei/month or 1,455,000 lei/year. This does not include promotional stories.

And, finally, the fourth beneficiary of the money flow is *Komsomolskaia pravda*, a Moscow-based publication with a local insert, which is much weaker than the "main" newspaper. The Friday edition is the most popular one, with a circulation of about 50,000 (the daily edition sells not more than 3,000 copies). KP has set the

highest rate per square centimeter—\$1.2. Hence the large revenues—96,000 lei/month, 1,158,000 lei/year. KP also enjoys a privileged attitude from advertising agencies. It is enough to mention in this respect Victoriabank's campaign, which offers a trip to Paris. This full-page ad was published only in KP.

The two governmental newspapers—*Moldova suverana* (7,000 copies) and *Nezavisimaia Moldova* (10,000 copies)—are also privileged. On the one hand, they get most of the governmental advertising, and on the other hand they take in revenues from business people who are being "advised" to advertise with these two publications.

The newspapers I mentioned above are not printed in color.

As for the rest, the Romanian-language publications have to make do with the crumbs off the advertising table.

Flux, 16 pages A2, 4 colors, 28,000 copies takes in approximately 25,000 lei/month or 300,000 lei/year.

Timpul, 24 pages A3, 4 colors, 20,000 copies—35,000 lei/month, over 400,000 lei/year. (Comparable to *Jurnal de Chisinau*, 8,000 copies, monochromatic.)

Saptamina, 32 pages A3, 18,000 copies—25,000 lei/month, about 300,000 lei/year.

I should say that these calculations have a very large margin of error, and therefore I wouldn't venture into showing the total advertising turnover in the printed press of Chisinau. But the trend is clear: the Russian press dominates the market both from the point of view of numbers as well as money. ■

Ethics and Professionalism

The Printed Press During Elections

Valeriu VASILICA

Statements

A lot has been said and written about the behavior of the printed press during elections—enough to use certain statements as a starting point. The ones I will mention here have been formulated by the mission of the European Institute for the Mass Media, based in Dusseldorf, which monitored the coverage of the last parliamentary elections in 2001. Thus, according to the Institute's report, "the majority of the media are owned by political parties," "there is no independent press in Moldova," "there is no impartiality in the press," and

also: "The election campaign has been obscure and scandalous. ... Obscure because there was no news and information on the activity of the parties, which made their campaigns almost invisible."

Procedures, behavior, customs

Reviewing, as well as coverage, come in different types, different manners, we could say even different local customs. Only good things or nothing at all is written about "ours." Only bad things or nothing at all is written about the competition to "our party;" this

kind of writing is virulent, aggressive, as if it were about the meanest “enemy of the people.” And the more the competing party gets closer to political success, the harder are the blows, the rougher are the insinuations and allegations, usually of corruption. There is either nothing written about the other competitors, or advertising and election materials are published for a fee. That’s the tool kit. The objective analysis of and information about parties other than “ours” is very scarce in our press, if there is any at all. The situation is identical at other newspapers too each having its own object of veneration and, respectively, disparagement. All this has led to a considerable decrease in the role of the mass media in the processing and generalization of election information.

Justifications

Some newspapers and journalists in Moldova might claim the right to “extenuating circumstances.” This is, nowhere in the world is the written press regulated to the same degree as the broadcast media during elections. That’s because this is how things have developed historically, and the fear is that regulating the printed press could affect the newspapers’ editorial independence as well as their right to express opinion. Basically, the printed press has the right to have certain political preferences during elections. However, on the one hand, not all the press have this right, and we’ll come back to this further down. On the other hand, there is a certain degree of acceptability in everything, and this limitation on how much can be accepted stems from the role of the press in a democratic society: to inform the citizen-voter as fully, as fairly and impartially as possible. In older democracies, but also in those which are closer to our tradition of politics, the press is aware of the need to develop a just balance between editorial independence, on the one hand, and certain self-regulation, on the other hand, in the coverage of elections.

Impact

What is the impact of the behavior of the local printed press? Why is it bad that the mass media fail to fulfill their role of informing the electorate on all political parties, competitors in elections, and hence all political options out there? The answer seems to be unequivocal: to inform fully and fairly is not a purpose in itself. An informed public is the guarantee of democratic and regular elections; a fully informed voter is the guarantee for a democratic regime to be elected. And conversely: by breeding an uninformed voter the press endangers the democratic well-being of society. In this respect, the responsibility for the last outcome in

elections is not only on the political parties which call themselves democratic, but also on the press which thinks of itself as democratic and professional.

Such a biased behavior also has a direct impact on the press itself. Selective and biased information during elections decreases the number of readers, brakes the development of the information market and makes us doubt the efficiency of the press. Let’s consider the example of nine monitored papers. In all of them together the Braghis Alliance was mentioned most frequently—29.5%, followed by PPCD (Popular Christian-Democratic Party) with 24.4%, the Communists’ Party with 17.4%, the Party of Rebirth and Conciliation with 12%, and the Democratic Party with 10%. The proportion of mandates obtained by parties is almost reverse in the case of the first three competitors, while the last two didn’t even make the threshold although they had certainly spent enough money to build a good image in the press. Maybe the politicians should pay some journalists and publications not to write supportive articles. Not speaking about the fact that an uninformed voter awakens the hazard of censorship in the press and renders useless any discussions on editorial independence, freedom of opinion and expression; the hazard of scrapping the press in its true meaning.

Reasons, legal framework

There are several reasons for such a state of affairs. Some of them are related to the legal framework and permit the authorities to exercise political and economic pressure on an important chunk of the printed press. I said above that in most countries legislation doesn’t regulate the printed press during elections. In Moldova there are no special legal provisions, not even in the Elections Code, about this. The public press may and must be regulated, since it has the obligation to carry out a public mission of providing the most **fair, balanced and impartial** information possible. In reality it has been enrolled into serving the authorities, regardless of their political orientation. This was true in the last elections and all the previous ones too. It is clear on whose side the state printed press will be during the next elections. In this legislative vacuum, which seems to be maintained purposefully by all governments, the public press has been subject to serious political and financial interference on behalf of the authorities, whom the respective papers seem to have accepted, with certain benefits accruing. There is a severe confusion of terms, since each time the people in government identify themselves with the state when they use these newspapers to their own ends. In such circumstances

even the authorities empowered to regulate election campaigns were mostly ineffective. For instance, one of the very few provisions on the state press says that public newspapers should submit on a weekly basis, to the Central Elections Commission, information on the publication of election materials. There was either no such information submitted or the Central Elections Commission failed to notice the situation and stem the wave of stories on the working visits of high public officials to factories and villages. Neither was CEC very insistent concerning the observation of another provision in its own Rules of Operation, which obliges newspapers to “*inform readers that the publication of election materials is paid for from the ‘Elections fund’ of the corresponding candidate.*”

Other reasons: Lack of political culture and professional solidarity

The narrow circle of voters targeted by each publication during elections and the rough, trenchant voice with which the election candidates competing with a publication’s political sponsor are treated can be explained also by a lack of political culture. Political parties and their supporting press fight fiercely for their neighbors’ voters. The closer the neighbor, the harsher the criticism, whether founded or made up. Here is a quote from an article published four years ago in the *Mass Media* bulletin (published by the Independent Journalism Center) after the 1998 parliamentary elections: “What do you think was the reaction of most supporters of the parties which had formed the Alliance for Democracy and Reforms [in the previous parliament], after the fire of mutual insinuations had destroyed many bridges between those parties? Who can foresee how they are going to vote next time? Will they still trust the press?”

These questions were answered during the 2001 elections. I said before that the press must take on a good part of the responsibility for the result of the last parliamentary elections. The candidates were parties with similar political programs, but the fight among them, including in the press, was fierce, maybe even fiercer than with the candidates with opposite programs, and this clearly influenced—or rather confused—the voter. Quite often article writers overdid it when they attacked their fellow journalists recruited by publications in the other camp.

Thus, one of the mistakes made by our press is that they fight “against” rather than “for.” Against parties rather than for voters. Neither the parties nor the press have realized that the target voters during elections should not be the traditional supporters but those who

are undecided at the moment. The surveys conducted by the Institute for Public Policies show an increase in the share of undecided voters as compared to the last elections. An undecided voter needs a different kind of treatment, a treatment using tools of persuasion rather than aggression and intolerance and unfounded and invented flaws in the opponent. You have to be patient and understanding with an undecided voter; you have to recognize his right not to vote as you or your political sponsor tell him. Such a voter needs to be informed as fully as possible, including information on political rivals, natural weaknesses of the leader of the party you support, and this information has to be packaged intelligently, without aggression. However immoral politics and politicians may be thought to be, politicians very rarely fall as far down as to make personal attacks because they are aware that after elections they will have to work together. In this respect, in a moral and self-regulatory sense journalists have something to learn from politicians.

On reasons again: Financial and economic pressure

The reason of reasons should be looked for in the economic and financial sphere, as well as in that of ownership relations. The vast majority of the printed press in Moldova are directly or indirectly under the control of political parties and authorities. Formally, this situation has the right to exist, since the current legislation doesn’t forbid such relations. But the financial and economic dependence reduces to the lowest degree the editorial independence of publications and, hence, the natural role of the printed press to inform fully, objectively, impartially and fairly. According to the Council of Europe Recommendation R (99) 15: “...the fundamental principle of editorial independence of the mass media gains special significance during elections.” In Moldova, for now, elections represent only a period when masks are being taken off. In this sense of not providing “**fair, balanced and impartial**” coverage, the press deviates from its own principles, which is a professional fraud if you will. “Election fraud,” Dorin Tudoran said referring also to Moldova, “starts when a political force has the means to influence the press.” It seems that in Moldova even after more than 10 years of “democratic orientation” there is still no printed—nor broadcast—outlet able to fund itself and thus adopt a totally independent editorial policy. The political forces—quite a few and quite different in terms of political orientation—that have marched through the government have not found it necessary to the present day to create appropriate conditions for the press, but they have always found money to influence the press.

These are legal sources and means, but also underhanded ones, which are used massively, especially during elections.

An exception that confirms the rule

In fact, it seems that there is an exception in our mass media, which in turn confirms the general rule that editorial independence and, correspondingly, the professional attitude during elections are ensured by financial independence. These are the news agencies in Moldova, or at least a good part of them, whose professionalism can serve generally as a model of **fair, balanced and impartial** coverage of many elections. This conclusion was reached as a result of monitoring of all news agencies during the 2001 elections, carried out within a larger project of the Association of Electronic Press (APEL) and the League for Human Rights Protection of Moldova (LADOM). The monitoring showed that news agencies covered the candidates in the election more proportionally than newspapers, offering to voters mostly impartial news and quite a lot of analysis. The example of the BASA Press agency is the most conclusive in this sense. Even the Flux agency wanted to be impartial, especially if it is to be compared with the *Flux* daily, even though the two are part of the same press group. The Moldpres and Info-Prim agencies largely justified their status of public outlets by including in their coverage the biggest number of general, organizational and educational election news. But the Deca Press agency (Balti) put out during the hottest period of the campaign (1-24 February 2001) only 12 items on the elections. Half an item per day of the 300 items put out during that period. The only comment one can make here is that the agency used its right not to participate in the election coverage. The general conclusion for all the news agencies in Moldova is that they can afford a balanced, professional attitude, which includes a **fair, balanced and impartial** coverage of elections because they have better possibilities to be financially independent. However, the equation becomes reversed at some point: a news agency can be independent because it is credible and hence can sell its product because an agency has respect for the voter-citizen by providing to him full and balanced information. It is true that the impact of this generally fair attitude of agencies was not that big because their products were used by the printed press sometimes in a selective, partial and biased manner, and very often they were not used at all.

The solution of projected time

It is true that all this has been said in one way or

another on various occasions. The situation is changing for the better too slowly for the press and society, if anything is changing at all. Try to find 10 distinguishing signs in the following statements made after the 1998 and 2001 parliamentary elections:

“The coverage of elections was minimal. ... This led to a considerable decrease in the role of the media concerning the processing and generalization of information on elections” (IEMM);

“Generally the media did not fulfill their role of informing the voters on all parties, election candidates and, correspondingly, all political options out there” (IEMM);

“The state newspaper *Nezavisimaia Moldova* showed a clear preference for the Braghis Alliance” (IEMM);

“Generally the election information was offered by parties, while the media didn’t have the possibility or the desire to perform their role of making independent and objective analyses of the situation for the voters” (IEMM);

“The printed press serves the parties, ignores the voters, and no newspaper rises above party interests. Our press is violent and intolerant, engaging mainly in propaganda or election advertising. The press doesn’t cultivate a motivation for participating in elections, doesn’t help the citizen to vote for a certain party and doesn’t provide a compass in the multitude of candidates” (Constantin Marin, Ph.D., survey);

“In this difficult economic context most of the press remain dependent on political sponsors, and the independence of the media is a luxury, as it has never been before” (Reporters sans Frontiers, report).

Now try to guess which statements and when were made. This gives the impression of frozen time. But time may and must be propelled forward by including amendments to legislation, changes in conditions and mentality.

Public ownership and control

At the legislative level, first of all it is necessary to pass provisions that would regulate the public press. In Western Europe there are no special indications and recommendations for the printed press, which is free to have a distinct and free orientation. The public press is obliged by law to provide a wide view of all political opinions. The analogy with the public broadcaster is

obvious. This analogy suggests the need to change the status of the state press in order to turn it into a truly public one, also by placing it under public rather than governmental control.

It is necessary to promote significant amendments to the legislation regulating the economic activities of the printed press. Less stringent taxes, fees and levies would protect it from political interference and provide to it the independence needed to fulfill its role. These changes must be advocated by the press and also by parties, regardless of their color, as it is their duty to learn some lessons in the wake of the fright they received during the last elections. It seems that almost all political parties have learned the essential lesson, that after being in power the fall from power is in order, and while in opposition the access to the press is a fundamental condition to be able to struggle for power again.

Financial stimulation and ethics

Neither the party press nor the independent, alternative, departmental and other types of media can accept this situation any longer. A general solution is linked to the development of the information market, which in turn has its own rules and terms of assertion. It seems that in this process bankruptcies, concentration and deconcentration of capital are imminent. Our state, in its present form, doesn't seem to be leaning towards a faster stimulation of the development of the information market, therefore much depends on the publications themselves. Although external funders, such as foundations and foreign governments, most often avoid investing directly in the mass media (one of the reasons being the restrictive investment legislation) they have always supported convincing projects. It might happen that certain projects regarding professional coverage of the next elections would be sufficiently convincing for some external funders. And then such publications could get rid of the local political and financial supervision, which corrupts all: the press, the voter, and the authorities.

The principle of material/financial stakes could also be used to secure the observation of ethical obligations by journalists during elections. Why not set up a fund, created from donations, which could cover part of the expenses of newspapers if they managed a **fair, balanced and impartial** coverage?

Lastly and most importantly

The last and most important solution could be formulated today if we were to go back to the main

motif: "Election fraud ... starts when a political force has enough means to influence the press." Everyone knows that during elections enormous money are spent which are used to corrupt both the press and the voter. Paradoxically, everyone avoids this subject, even after the elections. A plausible explanation could be that everyone is involved in this: parties, the authorities, the opposition, the press, the voters. An eventual exposure would produce an avalanche of exposures, which would bury everyone. But this vicious circle has to be broken in order to revive the chance and hope for democratic elections. And perhaps the press, according to its status, should take on the role of the cleaner, of the "watchdog of democracy." To be sure, the citizen-voter, who is also a subscriber at the end of the day, will support the press that will provide the most transparency during elections. A first step could be the idea to duplicate in Moldova the example of Germany, which adopted a new law on political parties last spring. The new law provides for criminal liability of up to 7 years of imprisonment for financial fraud committed during elections. ■

Diversity

Gender and the Gender Crisis in the Media

Larisa UNGUREANU

In the '90s, in the new socio-political conditions when the media were largely no longer owned by the state, a number of new publications appeared, which spread over a variety of areas of specialization and concepts. Here are some examples; *Glazul natiunii*, *Saptamina*, *Flux*, *Tara*, *Lanterna magica*, *Luceafarul*, *Contrafort*, *Mass media*, *Jurnal de Chisinau*, *Capitala*, *Vocea civica*, *Timpul*, *Accente*, *Democratia*, and others. Some older publications either kept their names or changed them: *Literatura si arta*, *Basarabia*, *Facila*, *Tineretul Moldovei*, *Moldova Suverana*, etc. There were also various bulletins published by NGOs, which came out more or less regularly: *Zece Plus* (the bulletin of the Women Journalists' Club of Moldova); bulletins were published by the National Center for Research and Information on Women's Issues and the Center for Preventing Women Trafficking; then also *Tanar si Unic* (information bulletin of the Youth Development Center); *Gender Studies*. I will speak more about the last one, since this is the only specialized publication, whose objective is to "develop gender studies by conducting research in the national context" (no. 1, 2001). But this doesn't mean that the other publications didn't try at least to apply gender policies. I will speak further down about the way such policies were included in the materials published.

Gender Studies is a research publication supported within a project (director: Maia Morarescu, Gender Studies Center, Chisinau), and is the result of scientific research conducted by students and researchers with degrees. The magazine approaches various gender issues: gender and society, gender and education, gender and culture. The titles are stimulating and interesting, although the academic style of writing represents an obstacle in understanding the specialized information. We can hear almost everywhere today about gender equality, nonsexist language, psychosocial identity, gender dialogue, etc. Here are some headings: "The Parity Civilization" by Elena Prus, "Woman Out of Man: Projected Representation or Object of Projection" by Grigore Tapu, "The Differentiation of Parental Roles" by Larisa Cuznetov, "Specific Gender Discrimination in Developed and Underdeveloped Countries" by Elena Prus, "The Particularities of Psychosocial Behavior Development at Different Ages" by Maia Morarescu, "The Rhetoric of the Non-Verbal in Intergender Communication" by Ludmila Papuc. I could continue the list, but I believe you must have

become interested and convinced already that *Gender Studies*, besides tackling the vast and complex area of the genders, publishes notions which show the cultural and educational level of some educational institutions which train future professionals and citizens capable of promoting gender policies. Since there is little bibliography in this area, one other objective of the magazine is to educate a gender consciousness by addressing a wide range of readers: school and university students, doctoral students, teachers. Journalists too are among the readers, as their profession puts them on the front-line of society. The media promotes, whether consciously or not, the notion of gender. Though perhaps not as much as readers expect. An analysis found that gender issues were more frequently approached in publications specializing in women's issues, but not so much in the general media. However, changes have taken place in other kinds of publications too.

Gender Changes in the Media

Gender is generally a new topic for our media. At first, only some NGOs implemented gender-oriented projects. A Gender Center was founded in 1998 (State University of Moldova, director: Valentina Bodrug), and in 2001 the Gender Studies Center appeared (Pedagogical University, directors: Ludmila Papuc, Maia Morarescu), whose objective was to spread ideas connected to gender theory through conferences, studies, meetings with NGO leaders working on women's issues, through including in curricula subjects such as gender education, gender and culture, the sociology of gender, etc. These and other activities spurred the academic environment and generated gender changes, in the media too. V. Bodrug says that "gender equality will become reality when the implementation of the gender concept will involve equally women and men" (*Information Bulletin*, no. 1, 2000).

Before I move on to analysis, I would like to mention the following: newspapers are headed most frequently by men. Out of thirty periodicals published in Chisinau, only five are headed by women: *Clipa siderala*, *Democratia*, *Sud-Est*, *Lanterna magica*, and *Femeia Moldovei*. This situation was commented on before, but not very successfully, since things didn't

change. It seems that this is also a problem of mentality, which will be overcome sooner or later. All western countries seek to promote social policies so as to reach a balance in human relations. The global access to information gives us this opportunity. In countries with advanced democracies the implementation of the concept of gender equality has contributed to creating equal opportunities for men and women. In the governments of all North-European countries there are special subdivisions on gender equality.

The media in Moldova can be divided into three gender-related categories: publications that see gender as a priority topic, publications in which gender-related topics can be found in some stories, and publications that use an ambiguous language that simply masks the priority of one gender over the other.

There are several publications that see gender as a priority: *Information Bulletin* of the National Center for Research and Information in Women's Issues (NCRIWI), *Zece Plus* (bulletin of the Women Journalists' Club of Moldova), and to a lesser extent *Profamilia* (women's club "The Time of Fulfillment"), published locally in Rezina. The first two publications were started in 1999, *Profamilia*—in 2000. The motto which appeared in the first issue of the *Information Bulletin* in 1999 was: "We live in a world whose order is dictated by gender issues." At that time only initiated people were able to understand this sentence. To be honest, I also didn't pay attention to this expression back then, although I used to write quite a lot on women's issues. Only later, after I had participated in a seminar entitled Promoting Gender Consciousness in NGOs, as well as at other similar events, was I able to realize the importance of this phenomenon.

By the end of the '90s several women's and family and child protection organizations, and various centers in the capital as well as outside had been created. Each of them published various booklets, specialized publications, and brochures in which they promoted gender ideas: equality of rights, woman's health, preventing domestic violence, the social status of woman, preventing women trafficking, etc. Unfortunately, these materials were not always written by professional journalists and this literature, albeit important, had many stylistic and orthographic mistakes, and used an awkward language since many materials were translated from other languages by people with insufficient translation skills. I wrote about this because the situation created a general impression that although those organizations were doing an important job they didn't take into account the impact their publications had on society and especially on journalists, who were suspicious of such literature. But this very literature made them become in the end more involved in social policies promoted by NGOs.

Zece Plus is one example. The publication contains articles on a variety of topics regarding the lives of women, families and children, exemplifying by specific cases and seeking solutions for situations of crisis in which women find themselves. The articles are written both by members of the Women Journalists' Club as well as by "outsiders," including men. In 2001 a number of articles on gender theory was published in *Zece Plus*.

In NCRIWI's *Information Bulletin* gender topics also have been a priority. Each issue contains one or more articles of this kind, for example: "Equal Practices for an Equality of Chances," which is an adaptation of a paper published in Bucharest in 2001; "Activities to Contribute to Gender Equality" under the section Women's Rights Seen by NGOs; "The Scandinavian Model of Gender Equality" by I.A. Sokolnikov—a fragment from an article published in *Zhenskie miry* (*Information Bulletin*, no.1, 2002).

The local newspaper *Profamilia*, which has published 8 issues in two years, covers a diversity of topics useful to women and the family. The articles are written in a language accessible to a wide audience. Both men and women are respected. The publication has a team composed mostly of women; the director is called Liuba Catrinici. Articles are written by men also.

In other publications some authors approach the topic of gender more subtly, while others more directly. Ala Mindicanu, for instance, used the term woman-ambassador in an interview with US Ambassador Pamela Hyde Smith (*Democratia*, 3 December 2002). Although she could use in Romanian the feminine form of the word "ambassador," the author preferred to emphasize the fact that this was a woman. "What are the disadvantages of a woman-ambassador?" was one question. The answer: "I don't see any disadvantage or prejudice that would cause problems for my role as *ambassador*... I see no difficulty in being a *woman-ambassador*" (italics by the author of this article). This means that the interviewee was clearly aware of the situation and saw no gender differences in this position. "I am glad I can do my work at full capacity," Her Excellency Pamela Hyde Smith continued. "Our family has already become adjusted to the diplomatic life. We have decided to see each other during holidays, as often as we can." This is a piece of useful information for our readers of both sexes, who still believe that a family should not be separated.

Stories about the exodus of labor abroad, which leads in the end to destruction of families, are quite frequent in the press. When separated, it is difficult for the spouses to preserve the relationship needed to keep a family together. The journalist Lida Bobana, in her column in *Luceafarul* weekly, describes dramatic cases

from the lives of separated families, especially since children suffer the most as a result of divorce. When either men or women go abroad in search of work, this ends most often dramatically: either the husband left behind brings another woman into the home, or the woman who goes abroad finds herself another man there. This also seems to be the most frequent topic in *Saptamina*, *Timpul*, *Zece Plus*. One of our famous singers, who also went to Italy to work illegally ("to help my child and clear some debts on the house") told journalist Maria Saharneanu: "There were different people with different purposes. Many women remarried as soon as they arrived there; some of them brought their children after that, others didn't. I couldn't understand what was going on with those people. Perhaps desperation, discomfort kills the faith in people, changes them so as they become unable to perceive the abyss in which they are throwing themselves" ("Daughter of Bucovina Maria Iliut," *Zece Plus*, no.5, 2002). The topic of exodus and worsening family relations deserves a more important place in newspapers, as does analysis by researchers and the state. The inequality of chances in the past as well as in the present, difficult relations between women and men, the absence of a gender education in the family and at school has brought us to a national catastrophe of which we don't seem to be completely aware.

Other articles analyze the conflict between children and parents, children and society, children and school. Under the column "Special Reporter" (in *Luceafarul* weekly) Jana Musat publishes reports and surveys on these topics. Her articles are full of words such as girl, boy, mother, father, woman, and very rarely man: "Being scared of the messengers' aggression, the woman had to collect some 19 lei...", "...because the self-confident girl felt offended," "Mothers and fathers ought to prevent such behavior...", "He and his wife sell vegetables" (*Luceafarul*, 11 October 2002, 15 November 2002). Sometimes the author uses gender-neutral words: students, children, youth, friends, colleagues: "It is these children who can be robbed easily" (i.e. girls or boys). "Drug addicted children" (girls and boys). The "bad" opinion of men about women is an old prejudice according to which men are superior to women. Here is an example, also from one of Jana Musat's articles: "And this was because the rogues threatened them that if they told about it at home they would be called 'women'" (*Luceafarul*, 15 November 2002). What an embarrassing situation for those children! As if being a woman is humiliating. More humiliating than theft, threat, beating, i.e. "rogues'" arguments.

"What is your attitude to feminism?" Veronica Gorincioi asked Violeta Bau, director of the Institute

for Public Policies in Bucharest. "The feminist movement has certain objectives (pleas to involve more women in public life) which I support and believe in. But I am not a supporter of the feminist movement, I can't struggle for an objective using sentimentalism as weaponry." This is a surprising answer from a director who is in fact a directress! The interview (*Democratia*, 10 December 2002) is full of such linguistic instances which show a feeling of superiority regarding other sister-women, even though the position the interviewee has "represents the form by which we, a group of people, can serve our country." This group is composed of men and women to whom public policies offer equal chances. However, the "secret" of Mrs. Bau's good humor is her family, even though she, as she herself said, doesn't fit the image of a housewife. In the interview we see a tough woman, who is not intimidated by difficulties. She uses a male rather than female language, and cares "little about models," preferring to live through "personal experiences to exhaustion, regardless of how difficult they may be."

I read with interest this interview which shows the struggle of a woman in a very difficult time, when the past and the present come painfully together. The sexist language is proof to that. It would be good to have more such stories in our media.

An example of sexist language used very insistently are stories published in *Tineretul Moldovei* weekly. Here are some headlines: "The Worst-Clothed Actresses," "Alain Delon Weeps" (31 October 2002), "The Red-Haired Have More Difficulty Taking Pain," "Ten Times Pregnant Before 16," "Mircea Dinescu Says" (17 October 2002), "Married Women Have the Best Sex" (14 November 2002). Such headlines attract readers, of course, not to speak about various pictures of women, some half-naked, which are published quite often on the fourth page under the section "Civilizing the Eye." Why not also half-naked men? The more so since *Tineretul Moldovei* also takes a civilized attitude towards sexual minorities, using a decent language for this social category: "The Queen of Transsexuals" accompanied by a picture of the person in question (17 October 2002), "The School of Transvestites" accompanied by a photograph (31 October 2002), "The Double" by Lilia Tacu, who writes about legends and realities from the lives of men. Although such stories don't libel genders severely, specialist comments are needed in some cases. Take for example the article, "Ten Times Pregnant Before 16", in which an impression is created that only girls are to blame rather than boys.

There are also publications which use an ambiguous language, thus showing covertly the priority of one gender before the other. Men usually occupy key positions here, and women do work that requires more

attention and accuracy (secretaries, proofreaders), but also smaller pay. Culture and literature sections are exceptions, in which women have worked traditionally. This is the case at *Literatura si arta*, *Jurnal de Chisinau*, *Tara*, *Contrafort*. It is useless to speak about the proportion of the writers. For instance, in *Literatura si arta* of November 7 there were 22 authors, of which 16 were men and 6 were women. But pictures represented one more woman than men (6/5).

This as well as other mentioned publications promote a social, party, national, artistic, literary attitude by which values are accessible equally (really equally?) to all members of society. But this is a wish rather than reality. The tone of materials, regardless of whether the author is a man or a woman, are often full of duress, linguistic aggression, and don't take into account the perception of readers and the feelings they may experience while reading such stories.

Conclusion

As I said before, the gender theory has just started to enter our region through translations, adaptations, research done recently here, as well as through NGOs promoting gender policies. This is a lot for the short period of time that has passed. But it is little if we are to speak about results. The press have only made the first steps. The use of a correct language, the promotion of healthy thinking in various areas in which priority is given to men (politics, management) or to women (food markets, education, libraries) is a problem for the future. But journalists are trying, some consciously while others intuitively, to use a nonsexist, correct language to provide an equal, non-discriminating treatment of both women and men. Now writers have to learn the gender terminology and use it in a creative way. ■

The Letter of the Law

The New Civil and Criminal Codes of Moldova: The Freedom of Expression in Perspective

Olivia PIRTAC

The year 2002 was marked, in legal terms, by two important events: the adoption of the new Civil and Criminal Codes. Naturally, these codes will introduce changes to all social relations, and not least to the freedom of expression.

The new Civil Code of Moldova¹, adopted on 6 June 2002, will enter into force on 1 January 2003. We will ignore the changes that will take place for the mass media as regular parties in social relations, as there are no essential elements in this respect that would have a direct influence on the freedom of expression. But the freedom of the media may be affected when the Civil Code regulates various rights, such as the right to honor and dignity, to privacy and the protection of various categories of secrets, the right to information, to one's image, the copyright, etc. In the case of Moldova, however, although the initial draft² of the Code contained an entire section on nonproperty personal rights³, the final version of the Code provides—

perhaps by virtue of tradition—for only one nonproperty personal right: “the protection of professional honor, dignity and reputation.”⁴ Comparing the new provisions with the degree in which this right was ensured by the 1964 Civil Code, one can conclude that very few changes have been made. One can state that there has been an almost unnoticeable evolution between the current legal provisions and those of the new Civil Code.

Thus, the civil offense of “harming one's honor and dignity” occurs when false and harmful information about a person has been disseminated. The person who approaches a court of law (the plaintiff, the alleged victim) has to prove the fact that such information has been spread, while the person who has disseminated such information (the defendant, the alleged offender) must prove the truthfulness of the information. Hence, the burden of proof is on the disseminators of the information, who are alleged offenders, unless they

prove unequivocally the truthfulness of the information under question. The liability may consist of retracting the information, publishing a reply, compensating moral and material damages.

Art. 7 of the 1964 Civil Code has been included fully into art. 16 of the new Civil Code: thus, para. 1 of art. 7 is replicated in para. 2 of art. 16, para. 2 of art. 7 is replicated in para. 4 of art. 16, and para. 3 of art. 7 is replicated in para. 5 of art. 16. The article in the new Civil Code adds more "specification" elements as compared to art. 7 of the 1964 Civil Code (e.g., para. 1, 3, 6 and 9). They were known and traditional to the practice in Moldova and USSR, since legislation used to be interpreted in this way only, and these stipulations were treated uniformly by the doctrine. However, there has been some evolution in the latter case since, while before art. 3, 6, and 9 were put into practice by legal interpretation, starting on 1 January 2003 these things will be clearly and explicitly stated in the law. An innovative provision is included in para. 7 of art. 16, which says that if a person feels his/her rights and interests have been harmed by the material published in a mass medium, he/she has the right to publish a reply in the same mass medium. The Moldovan law needed this provision. Since the obligation of mass media to publish a reply is stated in the Code, some problems that exist at present can be solved, and I mean first of all harming one's honor and dignity by value judgments, which, according to the European Court of Human Rights jurisprudence, carry no obligation of proving their truthfulness. If the practical way will be to impose liability, in the case of harmful and inaccurate information, in the form of retraction and compensation of moral and material damages, and in the case of contestable value judgments the only liability will be the publication of a reply (at the expense of the medium in question), then the problem of separating facts from judgments, when they harm one's professional honor, dignity or reputation, could be solved even without an additional legal text.

But this is only a solution for the future. The legal practice may or may not adopt it. It is quite likely that if this should not happen it will be because judges do not know very well the jurisprudence of the European Court for Human Rights. Thus, given the fact that the specialization of judges in Moldova is limited to some very general categories, specific indications will be needed in this case, at least in the form of explanatory resolutions issued by the Supreme Court of Justice, or, even better, by means of an interpretative law, for otherwise the situation requiring a retraction of the harmful value judgment and compensation for moral and material damages associated with it will continue.

At the same time, however, this paragraph does not exclude the possibility of an interpretation by which a

mass medium will be obliged both to publish a retraction and give the harmed person the right to reply. One ought to analyze very carefully the appropriateness of such an interpretation, since it could create a double penalty for the same offense, which is not desirable.

Considerable changes have taken place concerning the compensation for moral and material damages caused by the dissemination of information harming one's honor and dignity. While art. 7/1 of the 1964 Civil Code had a ceiling (and a floor) concerning the amount of money set as compensation, the new Civil Code no longer contains restrictions, and compensations will be set depending on the individual features of every case; i.e., depending on the character and severity of the harm caused to the victim, the degree of guilt of the party causing the harm, the degree in which this compensation can bring satisfaction to the victim, etc. The absence of a ceiling for monetary compensations helps recover more adequately the rights of the victim. However, in the case of the perpetrator, or the so-called perpetrator, this is a reason for concern, since there is a risk of substantial limitation of the freedom of speech. The compensation expressed in a substantial monetary amount can silence any individual or legal entity. Any inconvenient mass medium can be easily bankrupted. The media might introduce self-censorship for fear of sanctions, which can harm immensely the democratic regime. We ought to mention that the hazards that appear as a result of this change in legislation are too serious for us to accept the new regulations easily. We believe that, as concerns harming one's professional honor, dignity, and reputation, we should go back to the previous practice, that is establish a ceiling for the compensation but no floor, since harm should always be measured against the level zero; i.e., its absence. This is not a perfect solution, on the contrary, it may be seen as unfair, but we believe this is a preferred one given its purpose of safeguarding democratic values.

The new Civil Code leaves room for conflicting interpretations concerning guilt as a condition for compensating moral and material damages. Analyzing the provisions regarding the general conditions for liability, we can conclude that only in cases "expressly provided for in the law" damage will be compensated in the absence of guilt. But para. 8 of art. 16 provides: "Any person, concerning whom information damaging to his/her professional honor, dignity and reputation has been disseminated, has the right to claim, besides retraction, compensation for the material and moral damages thus caused." The law says "any person" and links this universality to the idea of "dissemination" of damaging information rather than to "dissemination and guilt;" there is also a specification, "besides retraction," which traditionally is published regardless of guilt. The question is whether para. 8 of art. 16 can be considered

an “explicit” case in the law, as an exception to the “responsibility with guilt” rule. Given the fact that the answer to this question is not certain, it would be appropriate for judges to take a decision in favor of moral and material compensation only when the damage is associated with guilt.

A positive aspect of the new civil legislation is the specification of a general 3-year term of limitation to compensate any kind of damage, including the moral one. According to the current Civil Code, the compensation of the moral damage is most often interpreted as subject to no limitation.⁵ The introduction of a term of limitation for moral damages diminishes considerably the hazards associated with its absence. The new legislation says: “The actions concerning the protection of nonproperty personal rights shall be limited in time only in cases expressly provided for by law” (art. 267, para. 2). Here we can notice a slight development, since even though the action remains without a term of limitation at the moment, the Civil Code stipulates that a term of limitation may be introduced at any moment by a special law.

To conclude, the new Civil Code articles affecting the mass media warrant no extreme assessments: neither positive nor negative. Practice will have the final word. If Moldova were a country with an independent, uncorruptible and qualified judiciary, then we wouldn’t have reasons to worry. But under the current circumstances, several legal provisions trigger nervousness and uncertainty (won’t they be abused?). What is the solution? Should we add to the Civil Code dozens of articles which would limit the possibility of abuse and protect the freedom of expression? I don’t think this is the best solution. In fact, I think that just as provisions on other personal nonproperty rights have been given up in the new Civil Code, so the provisions concerning one’s professional honor, dignity and reputation should be given up too.

In Western democracies the freedom of expression has been declared as an extremely precious value, which must be protected. It enjoys a quite high level of protection in the US; a comparably more moderate but still high level of protection has appeared in the jurisprudence of the European Court for Human Rights (ECHR). When these standards appeared, the meaning of the right to professional honor, dignity and reputation changed very much. It was no longer based on the simple idea that a person must be protected, but also on the idea that the freedom of expression of the media must be protected to the same extent. In each specific case a balanced and fair solution had to be found, which would not carry negative consequences for the freedom of expression. Under the current circumstances, when the ECHR has accumulated a rich body of cases in this area, I believe that the legal

regulation of a person’s reputation ought to become the object of a special normative-legal act. This is required by the multitude of elements that need to be taken into consideration when the court examines a case concerning the “protection of professional honor, dignity and reputation.”

The new Criminal Code of Moldova⁶, adopted on 18 April 2002, contains several offense components related to the freedom of expression. Just like the Civil Code, the Criminal Code will enter into force on 1 January 2003, although initially a law was published (and changed later) along with the Code, which provided its enforcement starting on 1 October 2002.⁷

Taking as a criterion the link with the freedom of expression, the offenses in the Criminal Code can be divided into several categories: some may have a direct connection with the mass media, others don’t have such a connection under normal circumstances. There are also articles guaranteeing certain rights, including professional ones, such as art. 180 on “The premeditated violation of legislation on the access to information,” art. 225 on “Hiding data or purposeful dissemination of false data on environmental pollution.”

The following offenses can be seen as strongly related to the mass media: “Propagation of war” (article 140), “Libel” (article 170), “Inviolability of privacy” (article 177), “The right to the privacy of correspondence” (article 178), “Libel of judges, criminal investigators and enforcers of justice” (article 304), “Incitement to overturning or violent change of the constitutional order of the Republic of Moldova” (article 341), “Purposeful actions directed at inciting national, racial or religious hatred” (article 346).

The following offenses are linked to general restrictions on the freedom of expression, when journalists may be potential offenders in rare cases: “Violation of the right to the freedom of association” (article 184), “Disclosure of the secret of adoption” (article 204), “Illegal access to computer-stored information” (article 259), “Purposeful lies on terrorist acts” (article 281), “Disclosure of criminal prosecution data” (article 315), “Disclosure of the state secret” (article 344), “Profanation of national and state symbols” (article 347), “Organizing or actively participating in group actions seriously disturbing the public order or involving minors in such actions” (article 358).

Also, there is a category of offenses that are not related to the mass media but, rather, specifically to the freedom of expression linked to the activity of law-enforcement bodies: “Forcing someone to make depositions” (article 309), “Libeling denunciation” (article 311), “False deposition, false conclusion or incorrect translation” (article 312), “A witness or victim refusing or avoiding to make depositions”

(article 313), “Forcing someone to make false depositions, false conclusions or incorrect translation, or avoiding these obligations” (article 314), “Disclosing data on security measures for judges and participants in a criminal case” (article 316).

Certain expressions may represent “Betrayal of the country” (article 337) or “Spying” (article 338). People involved in the military service may be punished for such an offense as “Insulting a military person” (article 366).

Worth mentioning is the disappearance from the Criminal Code of punishments for copyright violations, production and sale of pornographic or violence-propagating material, etc. This shows that from a social point of view these offenses are seen as less serious. And here we should say that generally the condemnation by the Criminal Code of certain actions/offenses shows that these are seen as extremely dangerous in social terms. The socially less dangerous illegal actions are included in the Code on Administrative Offenses. The Civil Code is used mostly in cases of private interests, mainly property ones. In the case of the first two codes the interest is general. Respectively, the inclusion in the Criminal Code of a certain article means a general strong interest in combating a phenomenon, while the exclusion of an article suggests a lower priority for the given interest.

The journalist’s attention is naturally drawn by the presence of libel in the Criminal Code. Art. 170 provides: “Libel, i.e. the purposeful dissemination of lies that defame another person, accompanied by allegations of an extremely serious or exceptionally serious offense or an offense with severe consequences, is punished by imprisonment of up to 5 years.” Libel implies a person’s intention to bring damage to another person by spreading false and defaming information about that person. The new formulation of libel is different than the one in art. 117 of the 1961 Criminal Code, reducing the number of cases when a person can be charged with libel. Thus, according to the new formulation, libel takes place only when the false information spread about a person contains also allegations of a specially or exceptionally severe offense, and the second case is when severe consequences occur as a result of such purposeful dissemination of false information.

The presence of libel in the Criminal Code is no surprise, as this is traditional in the entire world, although there is a movement against this phenomenon. For now there are many adepts of the idea that when false information is spread consciously and intentionally in order to damage someone’s reputation, it is normal to apply criminal liability. The shocking fact is that the Criminal Code provides exclusively for imprisonment for this offense. No alternative. This is obviously an inappropriate exaggeration. The more so

since at present there is support for the idea of not permitting criminal prosecution for expression, even if the information turns out to be false. The criminal punishment by imprisonment is disproportionate to the legal purpose pursued.

As I said above, the existence of criminal prosecution for a deed shows a strong interest of society in fighting such deeds. The existence of civil sanctions shows private, individual interest in combating a deed and receiving appropriate compensation. The existence of an individual interest in fighting libel is beyond doubt. The question now is: is there a strong general interest in fighting the purposeful dissemination of false damaging information? I believe the majority would answer “yes” to this question, and I would join them too.

The next step, however, is to take into account the realities of a country in which a law functions. Any law ought to take into account existing realities. What are the realities in Moldova?—Poverty, corruption and the lack of transparency at all levels, horrible prisons, etc. The West has spoken about the inadmissibility of punishment by prison, and in the West prisons are more than decent. The punishment by prison in the circumstances of Moldova is the more severe, and hence certainly fails the proportionality test. The second reality is corruption at all levels (plus the phenomena “cause” and “effect”). It is obvious that in such a system any journalist can be imprisoned when the authorities don’t like him/her, on the legal, formal and proved basis of “libel.” The effect?—The “eradication” of the “negative” element, the enforcement of media “obedience.”

The consequences of applying—even though once—the law in this way need no comments. They will be appreciated by a change in the media freedom and freedom of expression in general, deviations in the democratic regime, negative influences on all other walks of life (stimulating legal violations and disregard for human rights).

The consequences mentioned above are possible also if the civil legislation is enforced abusively. But I spoke about this earlier. The conclusion I want to share here is that libel, as an offense, can find supporters with well-founded arguments, and the text included in the Criminal Code of Moldova is not illogical, aberrant and inadmissible, but the sanctions provided for actions described in art. 170 are unacceptably harsh. An acceptable sanction would be limited to a fine related to social realities (and the purpose pursued).

Another offense that attracts the attention of a journalist is included in art. 177 on “The inviolability of privacy”: “(1) The illegal collection or purposeful dissemination of law-protected information on private life, which represents a personal or family secret of another person, without the person’s consent shall be

punished by a fine of up to 300 conventional units or from 180 to 240 hours of uncompensated social labor.

(2) The dissemination of information mentioned in para. (1): a) in a public discourse, through the mass media; b) by purposeful use of one's professional position; shall be punished by a fine from 200 to 500 conventional units or detention for up to 6 months."

The new codes introduce for the first time general guarantees for the protection of the constitutional right to privacy. (The Civil Code allows for compensation of moral and material damages caused by a violation of any personal nonproperty right.) But there is no definition of a "personal or family secret."

A series of nuances will come up when the new Code of Criminal Procedures will be adopted, the key elements being the rules for starting a criminal case on libel and violation of privacy (also of other offenses): whether *ex officio* or based exclusively on a request of the alleged victim.

We welcome the fact that the new Criminal Code has confirmed the rejection of criminal sanctions against "insult," which took place in 1994 (1995).⁸ The proposal to make "insult" a criminal offense, which was included in the draft Criminal Code⁹ published in 1999, caused surprise and indignation for this "promotion of regress."

Socially, the new Civil and Criminal Codes mean, doubtlessly, the beginning of a new development stage in social relations. A new law causes discomfort, even if it is a better one. This is because, on the one hand, not knowing the law doesn't exempt one from responsibility, and on the other hand, not knowing the law causes uncertainty in undertaking any kinds of action. We can only hope that as concerns the freedom of expression things will change for the better, but we should also struggle for this. ■

organization contains information harming one's professional honor, dignity or reputation, the court shall oblige the organization to replace the document. (6) In cases other than those provided for in para. (4) and (5) the procedure of retracting the information harming one's professional honor, dignity or reputation shall be established by the court. (7) The person whose rights and interests, protected by law, have been harmed by materials published in a mass medium, has the right to publish his/her reply in the same mass medium at the medium's cost. (8) Any person whose professional honor, dignity or reputation has been harmed by disseminated information has the right to claim, besides a retraction, compensation for material and moral damages thus caused. (9) If it is impossible to identify the person who has disseminated information harming another person's professional honor, dignity or reputation, the latter has the right to request from a court that the disseminated information be declared untrue."

5 See pt. 18 of the Supreme Court of Justice Resolution of 03.27.97 "On applying legislation concerning the protection of professional honor, dignity and reputation of citizens and organizations", SCJ Bulletin no. 11-12, 2000

6 The Criminal Code of Moldova, adopted by the Law No. 985-XV of 04.18.2002, published in *MO* no. 128-129 of 09.13.2002

7 Law No. 1160-XV on the enforcement of the Criminal Code of Moldova of 06.21.2002, *MO* no. 128-129 of 09.13.2002, amended by the Law No. 1323-XV of 09.26.2002, *MO* no. 134 of 09.27.2002

8 Law No. 316-XIII of 9 December 1994, *MO* no. 9 of 02.09.95

9 Criminal Code Draft, Chisinau: Garuda-art, 1999.

1 The Civil Code of Moldova, adopted by the Law No. 1107-XV of 06.06.2002, published in *Monitorul Oficial* no. 82-86 of 06.22.2002

2 see RM Parliament Resolution on the finalization of the Civil Code of 10.26.2000, *MO* 144-145, 2000

3 see the Civil Code Draft, Chisinau: Cartier, 2002, sect. IV—"nonproperty rights of private individuals," pp. 9-15

4 "(1) Any individual has the right to have his/her professional honor, dignity and reputation respected. (2) Any person has the right to request a retraction of the information that has harmed his/her professional honor, dignity or reputation unless the person who has disseminated such information proves its verity. (3) Upon the request of interested persons it is possible to defend a person's professional honor and dignity after his/her death too. (4) If the information that harms one's professional honor, dignity or reputation has been disseminated through a mass medium, the court shall oblige it to publish a retraction under the same section, on the same page, in the same program or series of programs within 15 days from the court ruling. (5) If a document published by an

Surveys

Current Problems of the Media in Moldova

Research methodology

The survey was carried out by the IMAS Marketing and Survey Institute, Chisinau, commissioned by the Independent Journalism Center. The objective of the survey was to study current problems that journalists in Moldova face and identify priorities of professional organizations, as well as "hierarchies" of popularity, credibility, success or failure in the media.

Interviews were conducted with journalists who have been the most active in recent years in Moldova. The interviews were conducted between 14-28 November.

124 questionnaires were filled out by a number of publications and media organizations.

Characteristics of the journalist who filled out the questionnaire

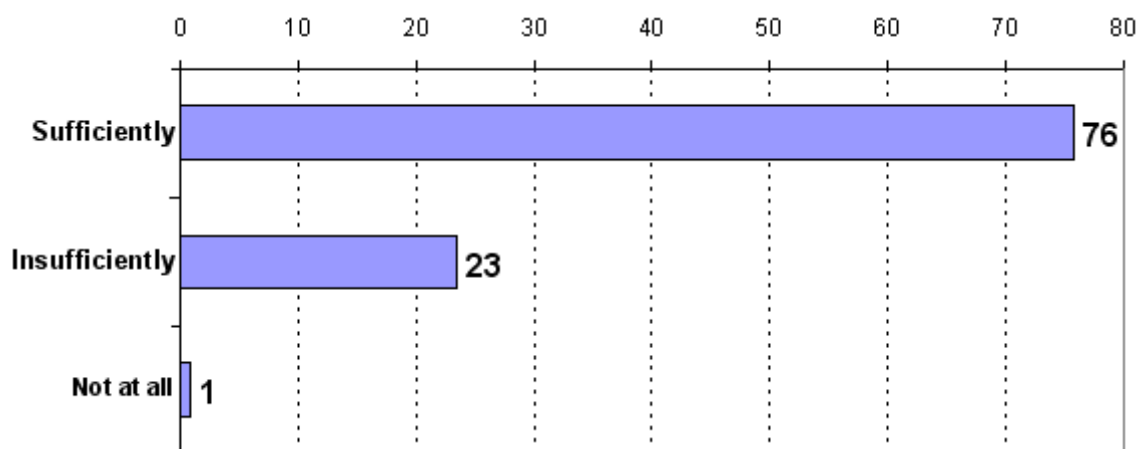
Type of medium			Type of employing organization		
	No.	%		No.	%
Printed press	75	60.5	State-owned	31	25.0
Radio, TV	31	25.0	Independent	90	72.6
News agency	10	8.1	Party-owned	2	1.6
Other	8	6.5	Undeclared	1	0.8

Length of experience			Sex		
	No.	%		No.	%
Less than 5 years	8	6.5	Male	88	71.0
5 - 10 years	30	24.2	Female	36	29.0
11 - 20 years	31	25.0			
21+ years	55	44.4			

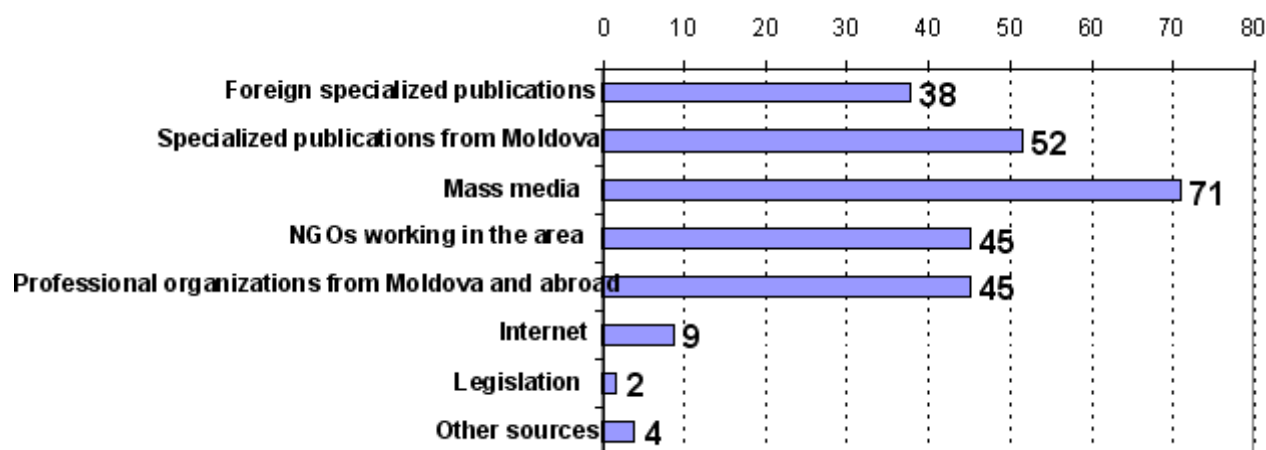
Age		
	No.	%
Under 30	24	19.4
30-39	29	23.4
40-54	59	47.6
55+	12	9.7

Surveys

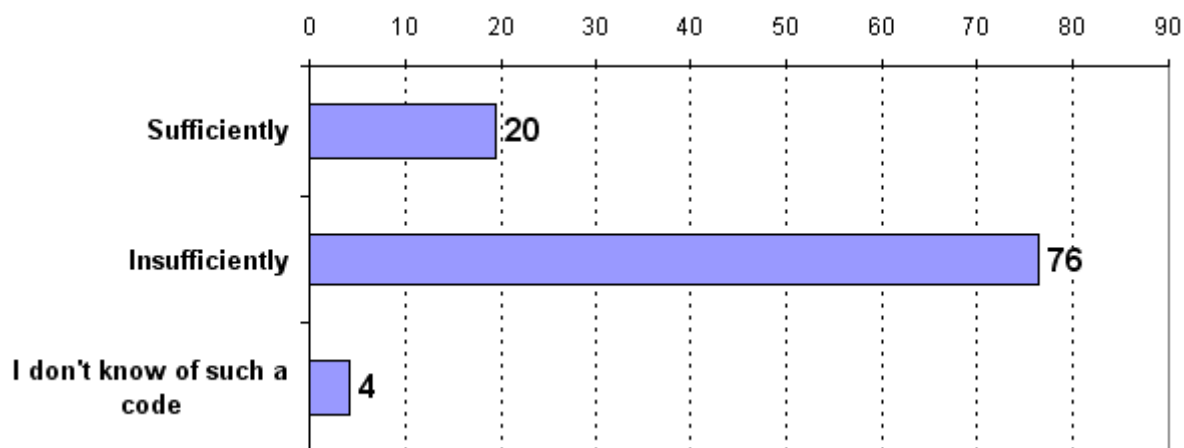
Q1. To what extent are you familiar with documents regarding journalism ethics and freedom of expression, adopted by professional organizations and international organizations?



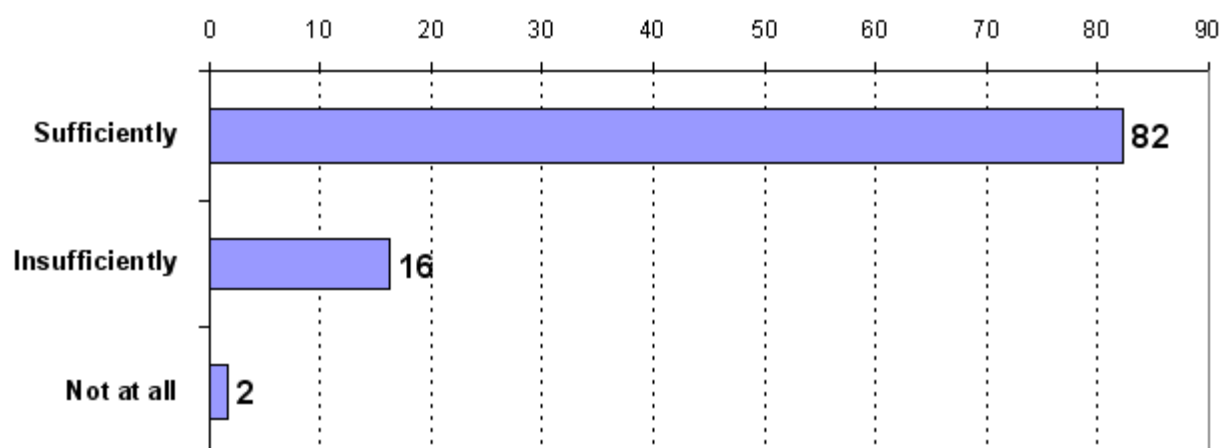
Q2. What are your usual sources of information in this respect?
(percentage of those who answered sufficiently or insufficiently to the previous question; multiple answers)



Q 3. To what extent do journalists in Moldova follow the ethics code adopted in 1999?



Q 4. To what extent are you familiar with the media legislation of Moldova?

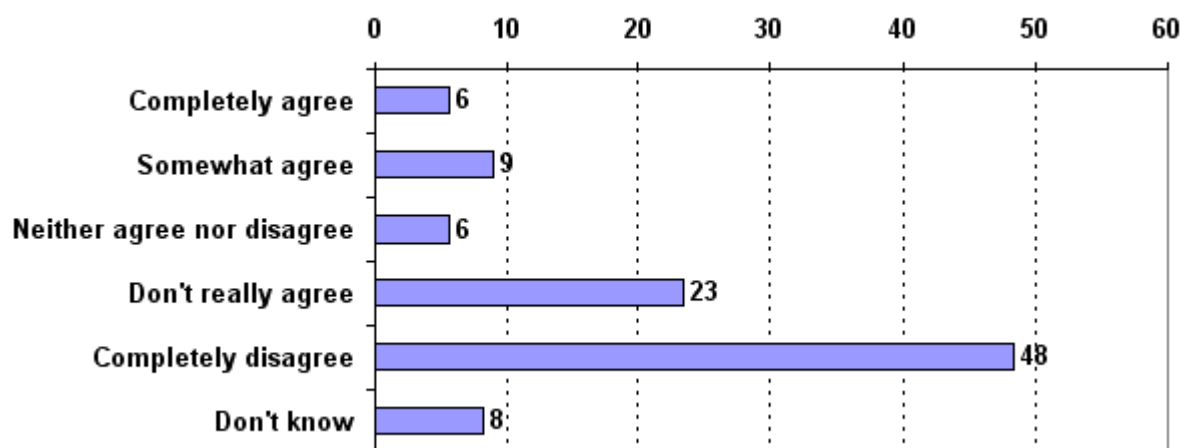


Q 5. In your opinion, what are the vulnerable points in the current media legislation?
(open question)

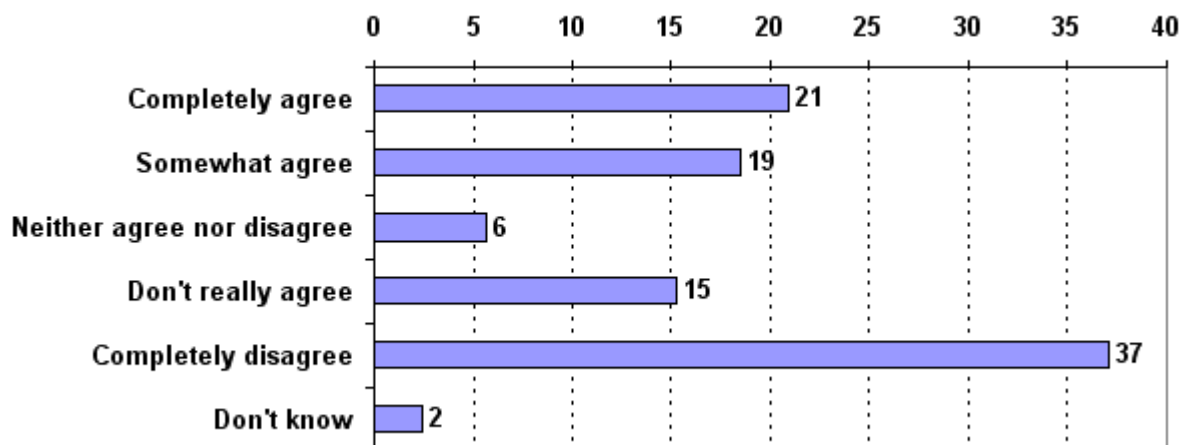
		Percent
1. Limited access to information and protection of journalists	17	13.9
2. The Press Law is outdated, it must be abolished	10	8.2
3. The media legislation is rather limitative for free journalists	9	7.4
4. Lack of social protection of journalists	7	5.7
5. The legislation is good but insufficiently observed	6	4.9
6. Article 7 of the Civil Code: journalists are fined for damaging one's honor and dignity and there is no term of limitation for this article	5	4.1
7. Personal criticism, damaging dignity	3	2.5
8. The current legislation is imperfect	3	2.5
9. No principle of fair competition	2	1.6
10. The article on libel and defamation in the press	2	1.6
11. Ambiguous formulations and restrictive norms	2	1.6
12. The legislation is not up to European standards	2	1.6
13. Art. 7 and 7' of the Criminal Code, the Press Law	2	1.6
14. Art. 170 of the new Criminal Code	2	1.6
15. Liability of journalists and lack of a clear definition for public-interest information	2	1.6
16. The Civil Code	2	1.6
17. No liability of civil servants for refusing to issue information	2	1.6
18. Journalists may be sued, but if they win they receive no compensation for moral damages	2	1.6
19. Legal protection versus freedom of expression	2	1.6
20. Ambiguities in legislation, laws don't work	2	1.6
21. Damaged dignity and honor of journalists, copyright	2	1.6
22. Unfair competition	1	0.8
23. Media are not economically independent	1	0.8
24. The media should be exempted from VAT	1	0.8
25. Legislation is under political influence	1	0.8
26. No major differences (probably between the old and the new law)	1	0.8
27. No guaranteed protection and anonymity of sources	1	0.8
28. There are vulnerable points	1	0.8
29. Impartiality and political partisanship	1	0.8
30. The public broadcaster is not really public	1	0.8

31. A well-defined legal framework	1	0.8
32. When somebody sues a journalist for defamation, it is the plaintiff who should prove that his/her reputation is impeccable rather than the journalist should defend his/her position	1	0.8
33. Discriminatory funding of the media. Barriers and bureaucracy in registering a mass medium	1	0.8
34. The Advertising Law	1	0.8
35. Every new government changes legislation to suit its interests	1	0.8
36. Legislation doesn't correspond to recommendations on the media	1	0.8
37. Laws are not respected by officials	1	0.8
38. Violation of laws	1	0.8
39. Excessive regulation of the media by the state	1	0.8
40. Laws on the public press and television	1	0.8
41. Lack of clear distinction between bold information and libel	1	0.8
42. Principles of democracy are not respected	1	0.8
43. There is no public television	1	0.8
44. Don't know	7	5.7
45. No answer	6	4.9
Total	122	100.0

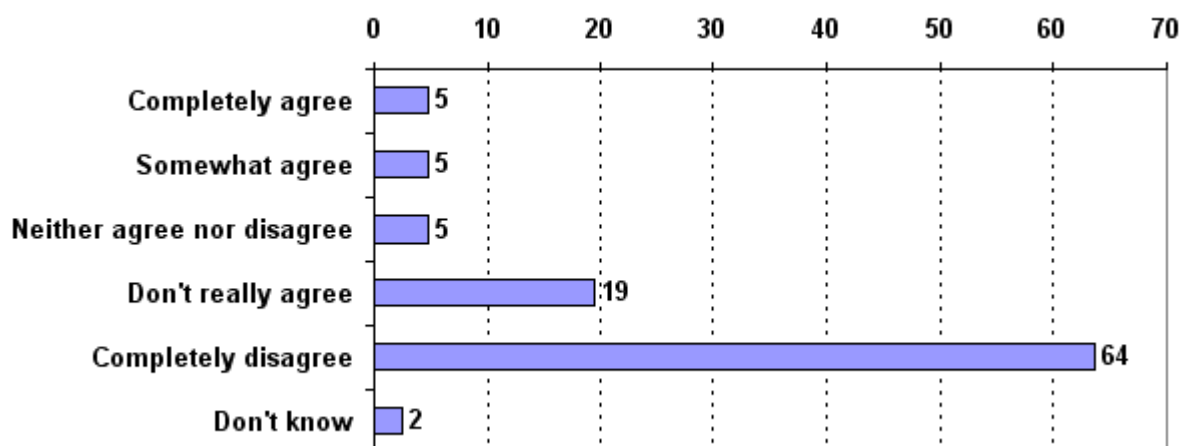
Q 6. Do you agree with the new Civil Code, in which there is no ceiling on the amount of compensations for moral damages?



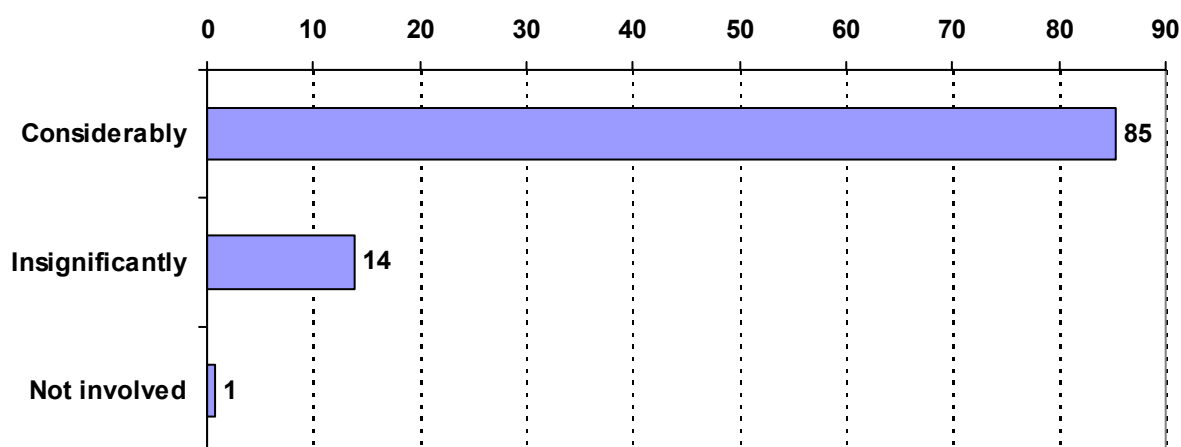
Q 7. Do you agree with the absence from the new Civil Code of the following provision: "The prompt publication of apologies or retractions before the court has taken a decision can serve as grounds for diminishing the amount of compensation or exoneration therefrom"?



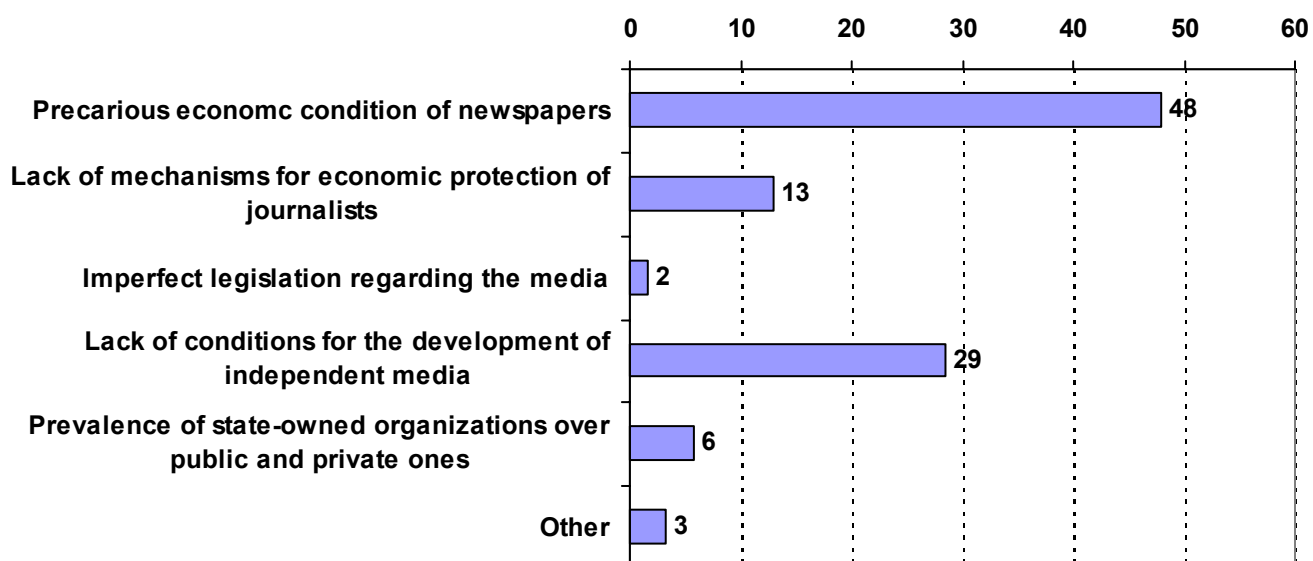
Q 8. What do you think about art. 170 of the new Criminal Code (to come into force on 1 January 2003), which p



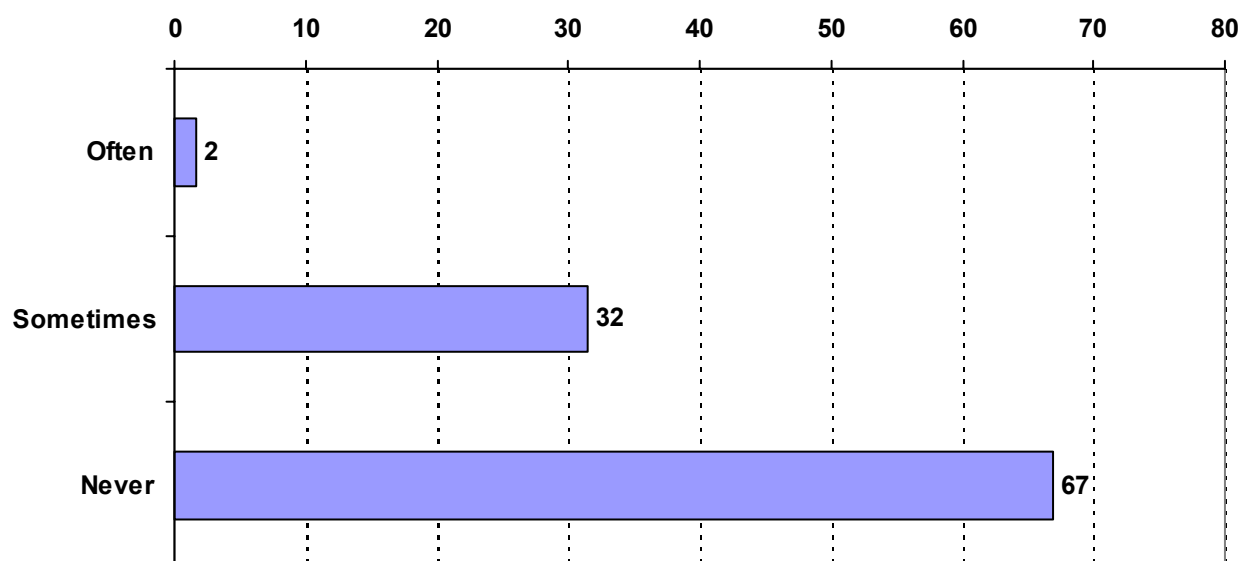
Q 9. In your opinion, to what extent are journalists in Moldova involved in political partisanship at the expense of free journalism?



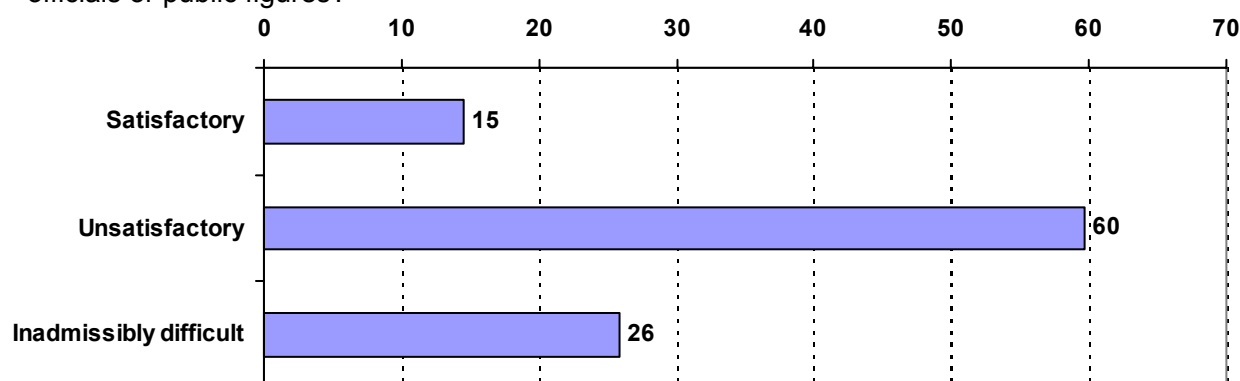
Q 10. What do you think is the main reason for political partisanship in most cases?



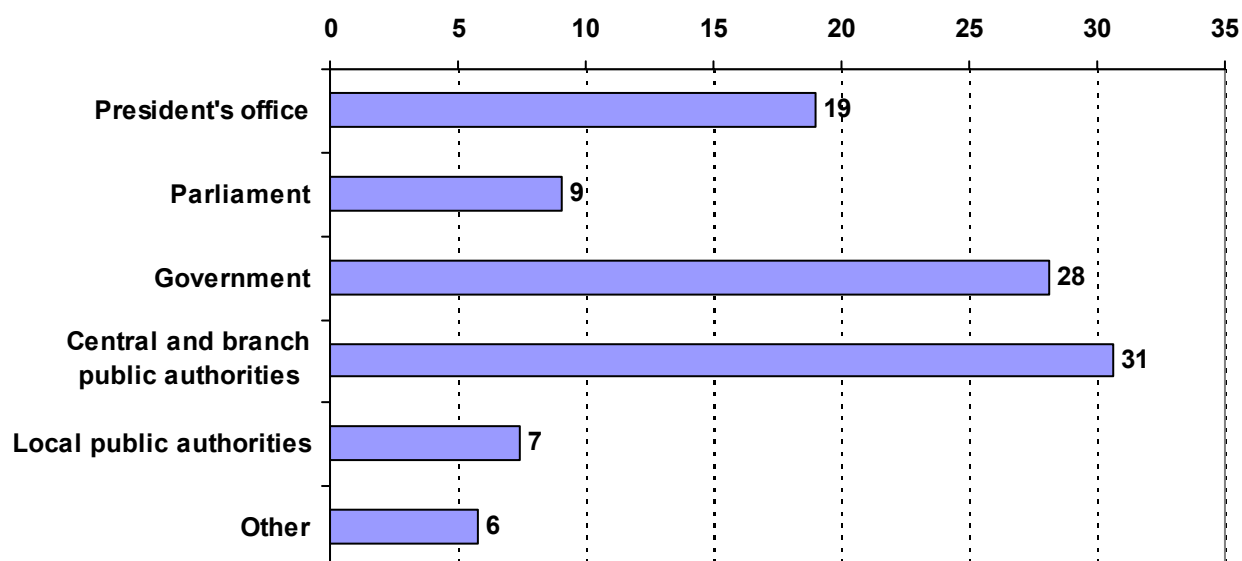
Q 11. How often do you accept assignments which are incompatible with your professional principles?



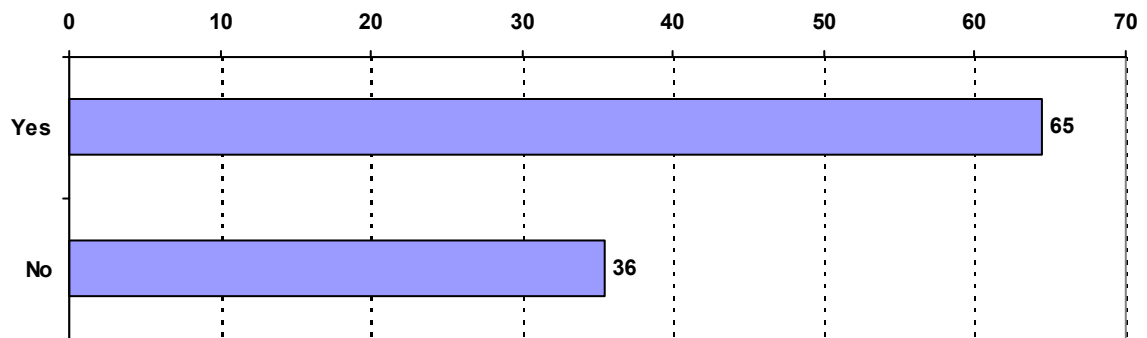
Q 12. What do you think is the degree of journalists' access to public interest information held by officials or public figures?



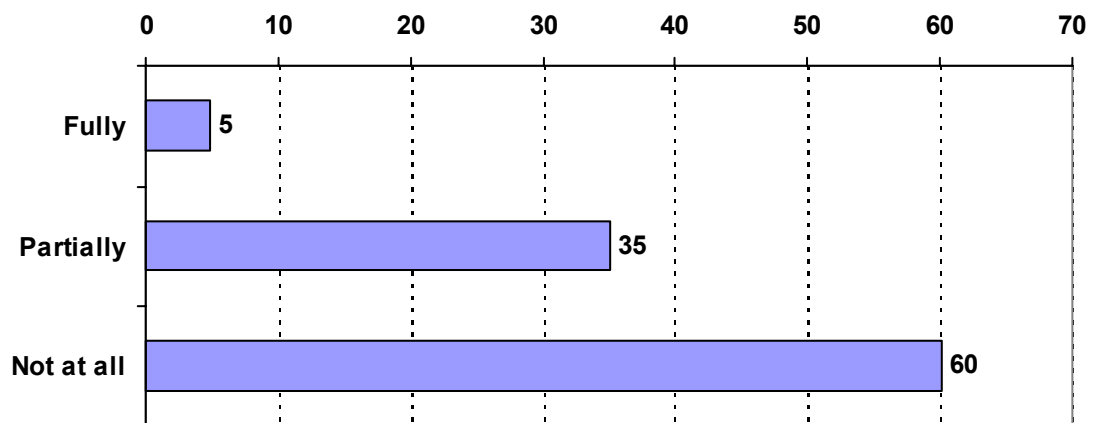
Q 13. Which public institutions prevent more strongly the access of the public and journalists to information?



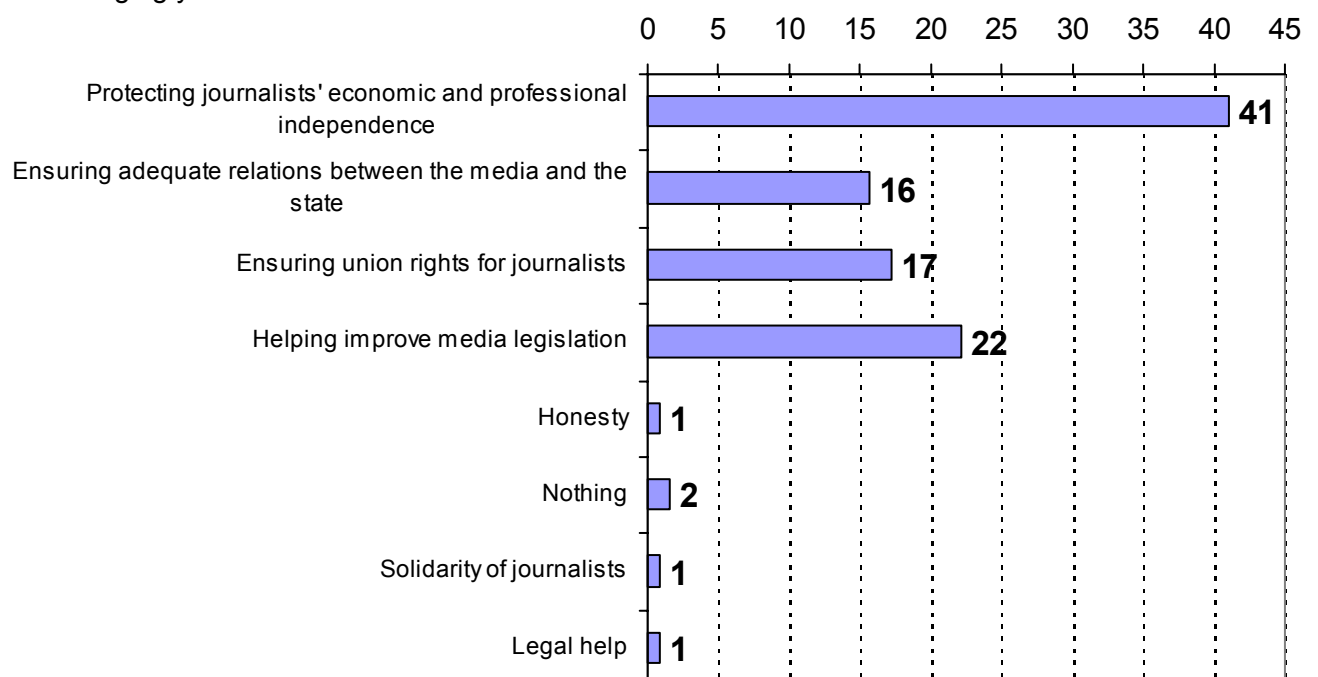
Q 14. Do you or do you not have a personal employment contract with the media outlet where you work?



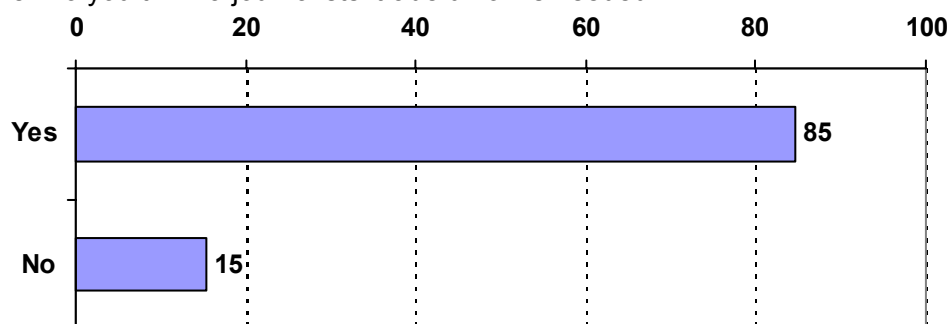
Q 16. To what extent do you think you are protected against persecution, threat or pressure as a result of your professional activity?



Q 17. What do you mostly expect from professional organizations of journalists in terms of encouraging your work?

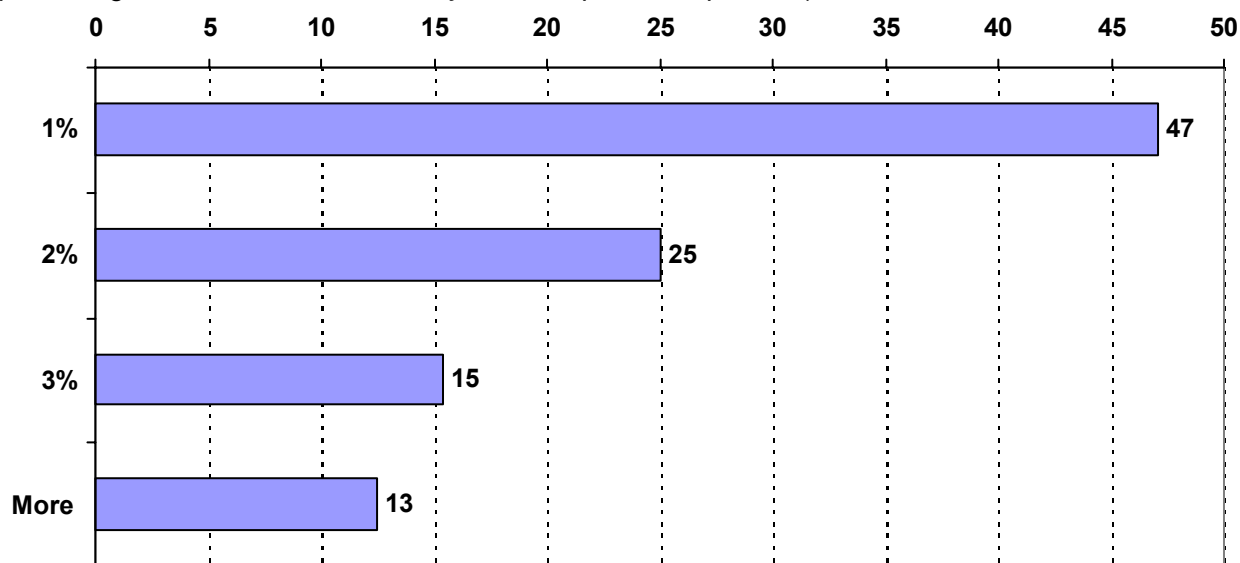


Q 18. Do you think a journalists' trade union is needed?



Q 19. What should be the union membership fee?

(percentage of those who answered yes to the previous question)



Q 20. Please name the politician most accessible to journalists.

	Absolute values	Percent
Braghis Dumitru	30	24.2%
Serebrian Oleg	23	18.5%
Rosca Iurie	15	12.1%
Urecheanu Serafim	12	9.7%
Nantoi Oazu	10	8.1%
Tarlev Vasile	6	4.8%
Stepaniuc Victor	3	2.4%
Diacov Dumitru	2	1.6%
Snegur Mircea	2	1.6%
Untila Veaceslav	2	1.6%
Neguta Andrei	1	0.8%
Ilascu Ilie	1	0.8%
Lupu Marian	1	0.8%
Vilcu Nicolae	1	0.8%
Cosarciuc Valeriu	1	0.8%
Corneliu Vadim Tudor	1	0.8%
Don't know	7	5.6%
No answer	5	4.0%
Total	124	100%

Media Audiences in Moldova

Research methodology

- **Sample size:** 1029 persons aged 14 and above
- **Sample:** stratified, probabilistic, three-layered
- **Stratification criteria:**
 - 12 administrative-territorial units (ATU), residential environment (urban/rural), size of urban communities (2 types), type of rural communities (commune center/member village)
- The sizes of the urban layers and the totals for ATUs were calculated proportionally to the number of the population according to the data provided by the Department of Statistics of Moldova.
- **Randomization stages:**
 - **I. Community:** within the adjusted layers, communities (53) were selected randomly by a table with random numbers.
 - **II. Family:** in each community a number of sampling points were established so that the maximum number of interviews conducted in a sampling point would not exceed 8. The families in which interviews were conducted were selected by the method of the random route at a given statistical step.
 - **III. Person:** when in the selected families there were several adults, the person to be interviewed was selected by the closest date of birth.
- **Representativeness:**
 - the sample is representative for the adult population of Moldova, excluding Transnistria;
 - the sampling error is $\pm 3\%$
- **Data were collected in the following period:**
 - 7-20 November 2002. The interviews were conducted at the respondents' homes by interviewers from the IMAS Inc. network.
 - The questionnaire was both in Romanian and Russian, and respondents were given the chance to choose the language. In areas populated by the Gagauz, the interviewers knew the language.

After analyzing the structure of the sample obtained in the field, we ascertained the correspondence between the distribution of the population in statistical data and obtained data, within the limits of the admissible statistical deviation. A significant difference was noticed in the case of age-groups structure—youth (ages 14-29) were underrepresented. This deviation can be explained in two ways:

- The high share of young people who now live outside the country, working abroad, or being in temporary migration which official statistics fail to register;
- Young people are more difficult to reach (they are not at home more frequently), which results—despite the methodological precautions—in the underrepresentation of this category in all surveys.

In order to adjust for the second reason, we weighted the results so that the structure of the sample would represent the average between the distributions in official statistics and in the field. **Therefore, the results shown below have been weighted.** The difference between weighted and straight results is not bigger than 1% for each question.

The survey was commissioned by the Independent Journalism Center and conducted by the Marketing and Surveys Institute in November 2002.

Chapter 1: Popularity of the media and reception of radio and TV stations

What TV stations available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name without watching them?

Sample: 1029 respondents - total sample

%	First	Others	Assist	Total
ORT	32.2	58.6	6.7	97.5
TV Moldova	48.3	38.5	10.5	97.3
Romania 1	3.5	46.5	36.0	86.0
RTR	2.4	38.7	29.8	71.0
TV6	1.3	20.8	36.7	58.8
NTV	1.3	21.3	32.7	55.3
PRO TV	3.7	19.9	29.3	52.8
TV 1+1	0.3	17.3	25.2	42.9
NIT	1.5	17.3	19.0	37.8
Acasa	0.5	8.8	22.0	31.2
TVC 21	1.0	8.0	20.0	29.0
Inter TV		7.9		7.9
TNT	0.5	5.5		5.9
PMR	0.2	5.0		5.2
Discovery	0.1	4.2		4.3
TV 26	0.2	4.0		4.2
Muz TV		3.1		3.1
REN TV		2.8		2.8
TV Balti	0.1	2.0		2.1
MTV	0.1	1.9		2.0
Flor TV	0.1	1.8		1.9
MIR Kino		1.9		1.9
Euro TV		1.8		1.8
STB	0.1	1.5		1.7
Eurosport	0.1	1.4		1.5
TV T		1.4		1.4
TV 5		1.4		1.4
Ukraine		1.3		1.3
Prima TV		1.0		1.0
Other	0.6	11.0		11.7
Don't know	1.0			
No answer	0.6			

What radio stations available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only by name without listening to them?

Sample: 1029 respondents - total sample

%	First mention	Others spontaneous	Assisted	Total
Radio Moldova	47.5	28.3	17.7	93.5
Russkoe Radio	10.3	35.9	26.6	72.8
Radio Maiak	2.4	25.4	38.2	66.0
Antena C	14.5	27.5	21.7	63.8
HIT FM	7.7	29.7	22.3	59.7
The Little Samaritan	1.8	19.4	36.1	57.4
Radio Romania News	1.3	21.4	29.5	52.3
Free Europe	1.1	10.7	39.2	50.9
Radio FM	2.3	9.7	19.5	31.5
Radio Nova	1.1	9.2	19.3	29.7

Radio Europa FM	0.1	4.2	15.4	19.7
Vocea Basarabiei	0.4	4.7	14.1	19.2
Radio PRO FM	0.6	4.8	13.4	18.8
Chanson	0.5	2.9		3.4
Europa Plus	0.4	1.9		2.3
Luceafarul	0.2	1.8		2.0
Avto Radio		1.5		1.5
Radio Iasi		1.5		1.5
BBC		1.4		1.4
Radio Semi	0.3	1.1		1.4
Nase Radio	0.2	1.2		1.4
Dinamit	0.2	1.1		1.2
Contact	0.1	1.0		1.1
Radio Ukraine	0.1	0.9		1.0
Others	1.6	4.3		5.9
Don't know	4.6			
No answer	0.9			

What newspapers and magazines available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only by name without reading them?

Sample: 1029 respondents - total sample

%	First	Others	Assisted	Total
Komsomolskaia pravda	22.4	32.2	29.9	84.5
Makler	10.6	33.7	34.2	78.5
Argumenty i Fakty	3.7	31.0	39.6	74.4
Nezavisimaia Moldova	2.8	23.4	44.8	70.9
Moldova Suverana	6.8	24.1	36.6	67.5
Trud	1.7	18.4	42.8	63.0
Flux	11.1	23.7	26.9	61.7
Saptamina	12.8	21.0	27.8	61.6
Comunist	4.4	14.1	36.2	54.8
Tara	1.8	15.4	32.7	50.0
Antenna	2.3	12.7	29.8	44.8
Timpul	1.7	9.7	31.3	42.6
Sansa	1.9	14.0	24.0	39.9
Jurnal de Chisinau	0.7	10.3	25.1	36.1
Sport Curier	0.7	5.5	25.4	31.5
Capitala	0.4	6.7	20.2	27.3
Cuvintul	0.8	3.4		4.2
Luceafarul	1.3	1.6		2.9
Literatura si Arta	0.9	1.6		2.5
Unghiul	1.3	0.8		2.1
Monitorul oficial	0.4	1.3		1.7
Spros i predlozhenie	0.2	2.5		2.7
Sanatatea	0.5	0.8		1.2
Ecoul nostru	0.3	0.9		1.2
Golos Balti	0.3	0.9		1.2
Facia	0.2	0.8		1.1
Speed Info	0.2	0.8		1.0
Others	3.8	18.3		22.1
Don't know	2.5			
No answer	1.5			

What TV stations do you have at home?

Sample: 872 respondents with TV sets

TV Moldova	93.8%
ORT	92.0%
RTR	36.3%
Romania 1	34.8%
NTV	23.9%
PRO TV	21.5%
NIT	20.7%
TV6	18.3%
TV 1+1	16.1%
TVC 21	11.2%
Acasa	10.5%
Inter Canal	5.8%
PMR	4.4%
TNT	4.3%
Discovery	4.0%
TV 26	3.2%
Muz TV	2.7%
REN TV	2.6%
TV Balti	2.0%
TV 5	2.0%
Flor TV	2.0%
Euro TV	1.9%
MTV	1.7%
Ukraine	1.6%
TV Tiraspol	1.1%
STB	1.1%
Others (under 1% each)	10.0%

What radio stations do you have at home?

Sample: 686 respondents with radio receivers

Radio Moldova	88.0%
Antena C	48.5%
Russkoe Radio	46.2%
HIT FM	40.7%
Radio Maiak	33.8%
The Little Samaritan	32.9%
Radio Romania News	32.9%
Radio FM	21.8%
Free Europe	20.3%
Radio Nova	17.0%
Radio Europa FM	11.6%
Radio PRO FM	11.4%
Vocea Basarabiei	10.2%
Nase Radio	3.3%
Avto Radio	2.4%
Luceafarul	1.3%
Radio Iasi	1.3%
Radio Ukraine	1.1%
Europa Plus	1.1%
Others (under 1% each)	5.3%
Don't know	0.9%
No answer	0.6%

Chapter 2: Habits of media consumption

a. Generalities

How often in the last 3 months...

Sample: 1029 respondents - total sample

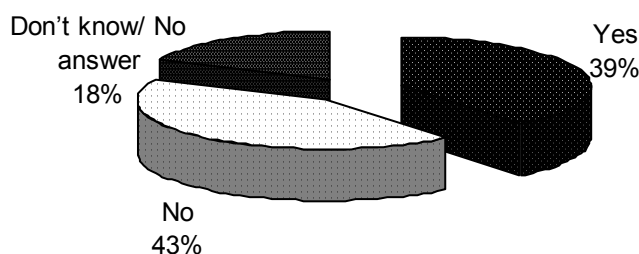
	daily/6-7 days per week	several days per week (3-5 days)	1-2 days per week	More rarely than once per week	Never in the last 3 months	Don't know/ No ans.
- ... have you read or leafed through a newspaper or magazine	10.6%	8.2%	24.5%	18.0%	35.8%	2.8%
- ... have you watched Moldovan TV stations	52.0%	18.7%	6.8%	4.0%	17.1%	1.4%
- ... have you watched foreign TV stations	55.7%	14.2%	5.1%	3.1%	19.5%	2.5%
- ... have you listened to Moldovan radio stations	39.5%	11.7%	7.2%	7.1%	31.2%	3.2%
- ... have you listened to foreign radio stations	27.4%	9.9%	6.0%	6.5%	43.0%	7.2%
- ... have you used the Internet	1.3%	0.9%	1.9%	4.5%	57.5%	34.0%
- ... have you visited your friends or relatives	9.3%	15.8%	25.8%	35.6%	7.7%	5.9%

What is your preferred information source? *Maximum 2 answers*

Sample: 1029 respondents - total sample

	First mention	Second mention	Total
Radio	26.0	29.9	55.9
TV	60.9	21.4	82.2
Printed press	2.9	12.7	15.6
Internet	0.6	1.4	2.0
Neighbors, relatives, friends	6.2	16.7	23.0
None	1.7	-	1.7
Don't know/no answer	1.7	-	1.7

Should the state be involved in defining the content of written stories and broadcast programs in the media?



What TV stations do you watch more frequently?

Sample: 881 respondents watching TV

%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
ORT	43.7	31.8	5.6	81.1
TV Moldova	35.0	22.3	10.0	67.3
RTR	2.7	8.6	8.7	20.0
Romania 1*	2.1	4.5	9.2	15.9
NTV	1.6	2.6	4.6	8.9
PRO TV	2.9	3.4	1.9	8.3
TV 1+1	2.1	2.0	3.6	7.8
NIT	1.3	3.1	2.9	7.3
TV6	1.6	1.8	1.8	5.2
Inter	1.1	1.2	1.2	3.5
TNT	1.0	0.9	0.5	2.4
PMR	0.4	1.0	0.9	2.3
TVC 21	0.7	1.0	0.5	2.1
TV 26	0.5	0.7	0.8	2.1
Acasa	1.0	0.9	0.2	2.0
Discovery	0.4	0.0	1.4	1.8
MIR Kino	0.2	0.2	0.6	1.1
Flor TV	0.6	0.4	0.1	1.1
Muz TV	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.0
Others	0.9	4.5	3.0	8.4

**Romania 1 was not available when the survey was conducted*

Surveys

Name 3 of your favorite programs and the stations broadcasting them.

Sample: 881 respondents watching TV

Evening news, Mesager, News (TVM)	28.1%	Tineri si dotati (TVM)	2.2%
Vremea, News (ORT)	22.2%	Vacanta Mare (PRO TV)	2.0%
Pole Chudes (ORT)	21.1%	Concerts (ORT)	2.0%
Kto hochet stati milionerom (ORT)	15.8%	Serials (ORT)	1.9%
Bastina (TVM)	9.6%	Chelovek I zakon (ORT)	1.8%
Surprize, Surprize (Romania 1)	8.6%	Sports, Football (TVM)	1.7%
Zhdi Menea (ORT)	7.9%	Concerts (TVM)	1.6%
Iarta-ma! (Romania 1)	5.0%	Buna Seara (TVM)	1.6%
Ocna - on several stations	4.9%	Moia Sem'a (RTR)	1.6%
Russkaia ruletka (ORT)	4.1%	Sports, Football (ORT)	1.5%
Bolshaia Stirka (ORT)	3.9%	De la 5 la 10 (TVM)	1.5%
Poslednii Gheroi (ORT)	3.4%	Ploaia de stele (Romania 1)	1.4%
Fabrika zvezd (ORT)	3.4%	Ia seama - on several stations	1.3%
Vremena (ORT)	3.3%	Rezonans (TVM)	1.2%
KVN (ORT)	3.2%	Cartierul Tineretii (TVM)	1.1%
Slaboe zveno (ORT)	3.2%	Chto hochet zhenshchina (RTR)	1.1%
Serials (TVM)	3.1%	News (RTR)	1.0%
Chto, gde, kogda (ORT)	3.1%	La noi in sat (TVM)	1.0%
News (PRO TV)	2.7%	News (RTR)	1.0%
Jocul milionarilor (TVM)	2.6%	Evantai folcloric (TVM)	1.0%
Teo (PRO TV)	2.5%	Pesnea goda (ORT)	1.0%
		Don't know	2.3%

What information and news programs do you usually watch on TV?

Sample: 881 respondents watching TV

%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
Vremea (ORT)	37.5	33.9	5.0	76.4
Evening news (TVM)	45.3	20.5	4.6	70.3
Vesti (RTR)	1.7	6.8	7.5	16.0
Jurnal (Romania 1)	1.6	3.0	6.7	11.3
News with PRO TV	3.7	3.4	2.7	9.7
Segodnea (NTV)	0.6	2.6	3.0	6.3
Curier (NIT)	1.1	2.4	2.5	6.0
Novosti (TV6)	1.5	2.0	2.1	5.5
News (TV 1+1)	0.3	0.3	0.8	1.5
The Mayor's Hour		0.3	0.8	1.1
News (TNT)	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.1
News (PMR)	0.2	0.3	0.6	1.0
Other (under 1% each)	6.4	1.3	1.7	9.2
Don't watch news and information programs	4.8			4.8
Don't know	0.2			0.2
No answer	0.1			0.1

What weekly programs of political analysis do you usually watch on TV?

Sample: 881 respondents watching TV

%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
Vremena (ORT)	31.9	15.7	1.9	49.4
Alesii poporului (TVM)	14.9	8.0	2.4	25.3
Zerkalo (RTR)	1.3	4.6	3.0	8.9

<i>Namedni</i> (NTV)	3.1	3.4	1.3	7.8
<i>Rezonans</i> (TVM)	2.3	2.9	1.2	6.4
<i>Maxima</i> (NIT)	1.0	1.6	0.6	3.3
<i>Profetii despre trecut</i> (PRO TV)	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.9
<i>Odnako</i> (ORT)	0.5	0.6	0.2	1.3
Other	3.0	1.2	2.1	6.3
Don't watch analysis programs	38.0			
Don't know	3.0			
No answer	0.6			

What radio stations do you listen to most frequently?

Sample: 685 respondents listening to radio

%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
Radio Moldova	40.9	13.0	6.6	60.5
Russkoe Radio	17.0	13.9	5.9	36.8
Antena C	13.5	13.3	5.4	32.2
HIT FM	9.7	9.6	5.5	24.8
Radio Maiak	3.5	8.0	5.0	16.5
Radio Romania News	2.0	5.5	4.9	12.4
Radio FM	2.7	3.5	2.9	9.2
The Little Samaritan	2.1	1.7	3.3	7.0
Radio Nova	1.2	1.5	1.6	4.3
Free Europe	0.5	1.2	2.6	4.3
Radio Europa FM	0.3	0.8	0.8	1.9
Europa Plus		0.5	1.3	1.7
Radio PRO FM	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.7
Vocea Basarabiei	0.1	0.8	0.6	1.5
Serebreanyi Dozhd'	0.8	0.3	0.3	1.4
Chanson	0.8	0.5	0.0	1.3
Nashe Radio	0.5	0.2	0.4	1.1
Dinamit	0.7	0.0	0.4	1.0
Other (under 1% each)	2.9	3.4	3.7	10.0
No answer	0.4			

Name 3 of your favorite radio programs and the stations broadcasting them

Sample: 685 respondents listening to radio

News (Radio Moldova)	19.0%	News (Radio Maiak)	2.2%
Music dedications (Radio Moldova)	6.9%	Podsolnukhi (Russkoe Radio)	2.2%
O melodie pentru tine (Radio Moldova)	6.5%	Music (Antena C)	2.1%
News (Russkoe Radio)	5.7%	Folk music (Radio Moldova)	2.0%
Melodii pe adresa dvs. (Radio Moldova)	5.4%	Lidia Bobina's show (Radio Moldova)	2.0%
Music (HIT FM)	4.3%	Modern Club (Radio Moldova)	1.9%
Unda diminetii (Radio Moldova)	4.2%	Music (Russkoe Radio)	1.9%
Music (Russkoe Radio)	3.8%	Stol zakazov (Russkoe Radio)	1.8%
La vatra jocului (Radio Moldova)	3.8%	News (Radio Romania News)	1.7%
News (Antena C)	3.5%	In direct cu ascultatorii (Radio Moldova)	1.7%
Music (Radio Moldova)	3.2%	Radio theater (Radio Moldova)	1.4%
Music dedications (Antena C)	3.0%	News (HIT FM)	1.4%
Music dedications (Russkoe Radio)	2.9%	Quizes (Russkoe Radio)	1.3%
Children's hour (Radio Moldova)	2.5%	Health program (Radio Moldova)	1.3%
Music (Radio Moldova)	2.4%	Music (Radio Maiak)	1.3%
Music (HIT FM)	2.3%	Weather forecast (Radio Moldova)	1.3%

The information and news programs of what stations do you usually listen to?

Sample: 685 respondents listening to radio

%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
Radio Moldova	45.5	11.7	6.4	63.6
Russkoe Radio	16.9	11.5	3.8	32.1
Antena C	11.6	14.0	3.8	29.4
HIT FM	5.5	9.3	4.2	19.1
Radio Maiak	2.6	7.3	5.2	15.0
Radio Romania News	1.9	5.5	5.1	12.4
Radio FM	2.1	2.1	3.4	7.6
Free Europe	1.5	0.9	1.6	3.9
Radio Nova	1.0	1.2	1.7	3.8
The Little Samaritan	0.6	1.3	1.2	3.1
Radio Europa FM	0.3	0.6	0.6	1.5
Vocea Basarabiei	0.4	0.4	0.6	1.4
Radio PRO FM	0.6	0.0	0.7	1.3
Other (under 1% each)	2.8	3.5	2.4	8.7
Don't listen to news programs	6.1			
Don't know	0.6			

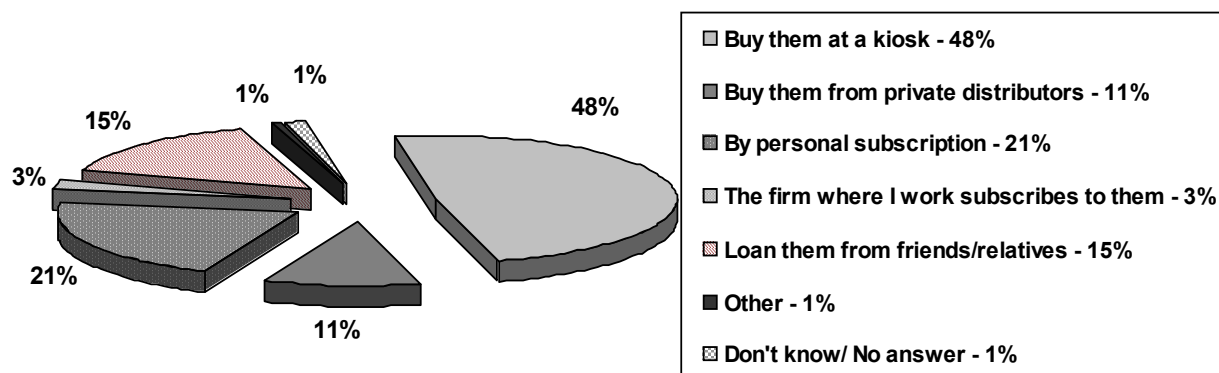
d. The printed press

What newspapers and magazines do you read most frequently?

Sample: 661 respondents - total sample

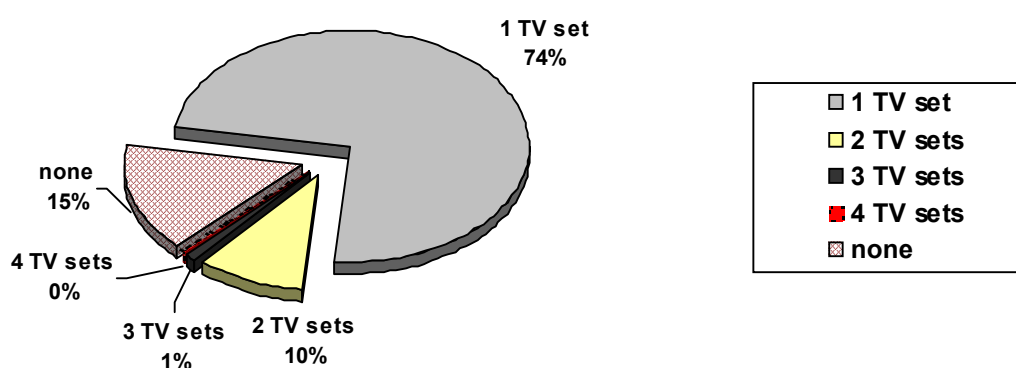
%	First mention	Second mention	Third mention	Total
Komsomolskaia pravda	23.4	13.1	5.3	41.9
Makler	11.3	9.2	5.7	26.3
Saptamina	14.4	6.7	2.5	23.7
Flux	8.9	7.1	3.2	19.3
Argumenty i Fakty	3.7	9.7	5.0	18.4
Shans	3.3	4.7	2.9	11.0
Antenna	3.1	1.9	3.8	8.7
Nezavisimaia Moldova	1.9	2.8	3.9	8.7
Moldova Suverana	2.7	2.7	2.6	8.0
Communist	2.6	1.7	2.3	6.6
Timpul	1.4	2.8	2.3	6.5
Trud	1.7	1.3	2.2	5.3
Tara	1.8	1.1	1.5	4.5
Cuvintul	1.8	0.9	0.8	3.5
Jurnal de Chisinau	0.6	1.4	1.4	3.4
Unghiul	1.9	0.2	0.5	2.5
Sport Curier	1.6	0.6	0.3	2.4
Luceafarul	1.7	0.6	0.1	2.4
Literatura si Arta	0.9	0.6	0.8	2.3
Sanatatea	0.8	0.8	0.5	2.2
Spros i predlozhenie	1.2	1.2	0.7	3.1
Capitala	0.6	1.0	0.5	2.1
Liza	0.3	0.7	0.5	1.6
Other	7.9	7.9	5.6	21.4
Don't know	0.3			

How do you acquire most frequently the newspapers and magazines you read?



Chapter 3: Radio and TV equipment

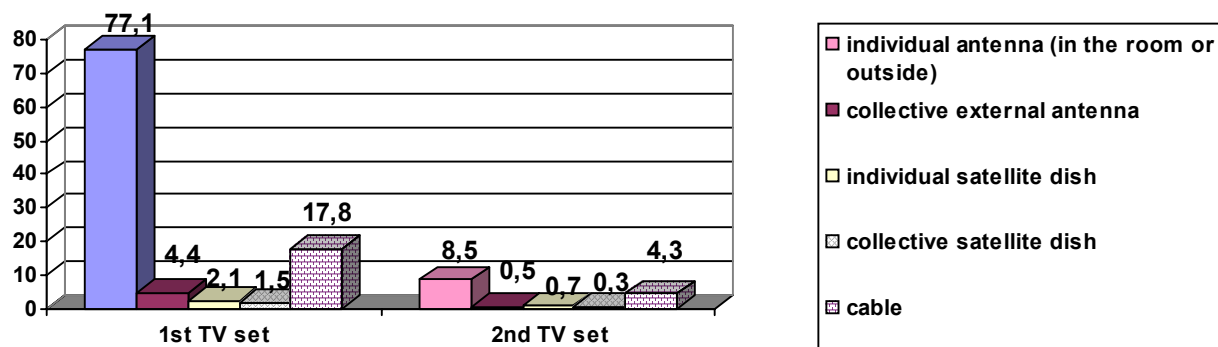
How many working TV sets, which you use usually, are there in your house?



Sample: 1029 respondents – total sample

% in rows		1 TV set	2 TV sets	3 TV sets	4 TV sets	None
Residence	Rural	71.2	7.8	0.4	0.2	20.5
	Urban	76.6	13.6	1.4	0.3	8.1
Socio – economic level	Low	76.0	19.7	2.2	0.4	1.8
	Average	89.0	7.9	0.2	0.3	2.6
	High	55.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	42.0
Total		73.5	10.2	0.8	0.2	15.2

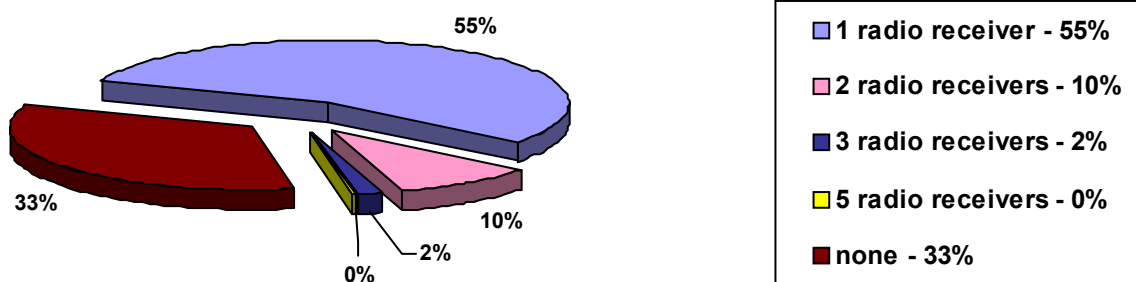
How do you receive TV programs?



What is the quality of the image?

% in rows	Very poor	Acceptable	Very good	Sample: those receiving...
TV Moldova	11.2	51.4	37.4	818
ORT	3.9	53.6	42.5	802
NIT	1.9	44.6	53.5	180
PRO TV	6.0	42.7	51.4	188
RTR	5.6	43.4	51.0	316
Acasa	2.3	34.1	63.6	92
NTV	3.7	34.2	62.0	208
Romania 1	14.3	40.2	45.5	304
TV6	9.3	37.1	53.6	159
TV 1+1	7.2	57.4	35.5	140
TVC 21	4.5	33.8	61.8	97

How many working radio receivers, which you use usually, are there in your house (including, if appropriate, radio tape recorders at home or in car)?





Independent Journalism Center

IJC Director: Angela SIRBU

Published with the financial support of Soros Foundation - Moldova.

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Printed at: Chisinau-Prim

The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of the IJC.

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